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THE EDUCATIONAL VIEWS OF LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON
PRIOR TO HIS PRESIDENCY

by

Janet Patricia Fredericks

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

January

1982

DEDICATED

TO

MARCEL

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research would never have progressed without the assistance and guidance of my major professor, Dr. Gerald L. Gutek, Dean of the School of Education of Loyola University of Chicago, and the other members of my committee: Professor John M. Wozniak and Professor Mark Krug.

A special thanks go to the late Dr. Rosemary Donatelli who provided help and assistance in the early stages of the dissertation development.

Certain libraries have become a second home during the past years. The staffs of many were quite helpful, but two particularly are prominent. The friendly, capable, intelligent and cooperative attitude of the people at The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, Austin, Texas is sincerely appreciated. I am particularly indebted to Mr. Robert W. Tissing, Archivist, who was very helpful in researching the photographs of President Johnson's family. The same capable and friendly attitude prevailed at the Water Tower Campus Library, Loyola University of Chicago, under the leadership of Genevieve A. Delana and her assistant Yolande M. Wersching.

The Rosary College Library, River Forest, Illinois, was also very cooperative. A liberal interlibrary loan policy made the reading of microfilmed newspapers much easier.

I am also grateful to many members of the faculty and staff of the School of Education, Loyola University of Chicago. These include Dr. Jasper J. Valenti, Associate Dean, Kay Smith, Assistant Dean, Dr. Mary

Jane Gray, Dr. Melvin P. Heller, Dr. Barney M. Berlin, Dr. Steven Miller and the late Dr. James Smith, former Deputy Superintendent of Schools, Chicago, Illinois.

To my typist Mrs. Lucille McGill, goes a special thanks---she worked long hours on weekends to meet my schedule.

Most of all, I am truly indebted and grateful to my family whose help, patience, and support have no boundaries.

VITA

The author, Janet Patricia Fredericks, is the daughter of the late Patrick A. Gallagher and Eleanor (Buckles) Gallagher. She was born January 18, 1944, Chicago, Illinois.

Her elementary education was obtained at Saint Xavier's Academy, Chicago, Illinois and at Saint Joseph's Academy, Columbus, Ohio. Her secondary education was completed at Saint Mary's of the Springs, Columbus, Ohio and at Mother McAuley High School, Chicago, from which she was graduated in 1961.

She received her B.S. (1966) and M.Ed. (1971) degrees from Loyola University of Chicago, and her M.A.L.S. (1978) degree from Rosary College Graduate School of Library Science, River Forest, Illinois.

She taught at Sacred Heart School in Boston, Massachusetts, and in Saint Vincent Ferrer School, River Forest, Illinois. At present, she is principal of Notre Dame de Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

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PREFACE

Lyndon Baines Johnson has been called "The Education President," It is certainly true that during his presidency there was a major thrust toward education in the United States. The purpose of this study is to ascertain whether or not during the period prior to his presidency, Lyndon Baines Johnson exhibited a continuing interest and concern for education. Mr Johnson's life will be examined from his birth to the time of his inauguration as President on November 22, 1963. It is hoped that a determination can be made as to the evidence of the presence of a "Johnson educational ideology;" and if so, whether or not that ideology remained consistent.

Through an analysis of Johnson's career as a student, professional educator and politician it is hoped that a discovery can be made of the roots of his educational views; and to note how they came to be embedded within his personality as a result of his family's history and how they were nurtured through his educational experiences. Additionally, because Johnson began his adult life as a professional educator, it is hoped that one can see an early "grass roots" and practical application of the educational beliefs which he held as a young man. Through an analysis of his writings, speeches, legislative concerns and programs it is possible that one will discover a matured social philosophy or ideology which Johnson attempted to make a reality in the United States. The place and thrust of education within his overall view of society is a particular importance. An attempt will be made to ascertain if the educational views he exhibited

throughout his life were consistent and further if they were late in evidence in his educational programs.

For the purposes of this study ideology will be operationalized as a view of the present, based upon one's interpretation of history. Given an individual's view of the past and view of the present, ideology becomes a programmatic plan to provide for future generations in accordance with the individual's concept of what the ideal state of society can and should be.

Chapter I presents a biographical overview of Lyndon Baines Johnson. Chapter II deals with the education and career of Lyndon Johnson as a professional educator. Chapter III discusses his role as the Texas Director of the National Youth Administration. Chapter IV analyzes his work as a member of the United States House of Representatives; and Chapter V extends that discussion to his role as a United States Senator and Vice-President of the United States. Chapter VI deals specifically with the evolution of Johnson's educational views from his days as a student through 1963. At this point in the study, the educational legislation passed during his presidency will be examined in terms of the educational views he expressed up to that time. Chapter VII presents a summary of the data and the conclusions of the study.

The primary sources for this study include extensive use of the letters, papers, editorials and speeches of Lyndon Baines Johnson. Secondary sources will include oral histories, dissertations and books written about Lyndon Johnson. Of the books which have been written about Johnson, three are of particular importance.

Eric Goldman wrote The Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson in 1969. His

book on the President and the Presidential programs resulted from his employment by the White House as special consultant to the President, acting as the White House Coordinator for visiting scholars. It attempts to give an inside view of the various episodes which led to the evolution of the Presidential programs.

Doris Kearns was a Presidential Fellow, who became a close friend of Mr. Johnson. He asked her to write his story and in 1976 she published Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream. Although Miss Kearns holds a Ph.D. from Harvard in political science, her book tends to be a psycho-history.

Sam Johnson's Boy: A Close-Up of the President from Texas was written by Alfred Steinberg in 1968. Although it is often considered to be a critical account of Lyndon Johnson's life, the text is also extremely well written, and does provide the reader with good insights to the personality of Johnson. This volume is a most valuable biography of Lyndon Johnson.

All of the primary sources for this study, as well as the oral histories, have been obtained from the archives of the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library in Austin, Texas.

FRONTISPIECE

LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON, 36th PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA, NOVEMBER 22, 1963-JANUARY 20, 1969

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library



CHAPTER I

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON

Historical Background of the Family

The Johnson family is known to have resided in Ogelthorpe County, Georgia, at least as early as 1775. Sometime during the year 1846 the family moved to Texas. Johnson's ancestors seem to have been inextricably bound to two professions--politics and education. His great grandfather, Jesse Johnson was Sheriff of Henry County, Georgia and Sheriff of the Interior Court of McDonough County, Georgia. His grandmother's uncle, John Wheeler Bunton (see Plate 1) had been one of the signers of the Texas Declaration of Independence. During the 1870's his grandfather, Joseph Wilson Baines (see Plate 2) had served as a member of the Texas State Legislature and as Secretary of State for Texas. His father, Sam Johnson (see Plate 3) also spent several terms in the Texas Legislature; the first of which he served with another freshman legislator and ex-school teacher, Sam Rayburn. Even when not in office, Texas "grass-roots" politics was the avocation of Sam Johnson. Clarence Martin, an uncle of Lyndon Johnson (he was married to Sam Johnson's sister) led the legal defense of Governor Jim Ferguson when he was impeached by the Texas Legislature.

As professional educators, the family also had a rather eminent

¹ Alfred Steinberg, Sam Johnson's Boy: A Close-Up of the President from Texas. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968), pp. 3, 9, 16, 22, 28.

history. Johnson's great grandmother, Jane McIntosh Bunton (see Plate 4) had been a school marm. When his father, Sam Johnson, decided to get a teaching certificate, he moved in with her in order to be tutored on the thirteen books which served as the basis of the certificate examination. His father's teaching career lasted two years—one year was spent in a one room country school in Sandys, Texas and the second year consisted of an assignment at Hye, Texas (see Plate 5). Johnson's uncle, George Desha Johnson, had received a degree in education and history from the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor; and subsequently spent his life as an educator. He served as Chairman of the History Department at Sam Houston High School in Houston, Texas. Another uncle (through marriage) John Bright, was a mathematics teacher at the same school. During the years of their service, Sam Houston High School had an enrollment of 1700 students.

The family of Lyndon Johnson's mother, Rebekah Baines (see Plate 6) also had a rather illustrative educational history. Reverend George Washington (see Plate 7) was Lyndon Johnson's great grandfather. He was a lay Baptist preacher and served as Sam Houston's minister at the Huntsville, Texas Baptist Church. During the Civil War, he also acted as President of Baylor University for the years 1861 and 1862 (see Plate 8). His son was Joseph Wilson Baines, a lawyer and member of the Texas Legislature, and the maternal grandfather of Lyndon Johnson. Joseph Baines' wife, Ruth Ament Huffman Baines (see Plate 9) opened a boarding house for students at Southwest Texas State Teachers College (Johnson's alma mater) after the death of her husband. Johnson's aunt also maintained a boarding house for girls attending this school. Rebekah Johnson, "L.B.J.'s" mother, graduated from Baylor University. She taught debate

classes at the local high school when the family lived in Johnson City. During that time she also taught elocution privately, directed plays for the local opera house, taught an "Old Bible" class and wrote a weekly column for the local newspaper.¹

Lyndon Johnson's Early Life

Lyndon Johnson was born on August 27, 1908 near the New Stonewall on the Perdenales of Texas. Although one might presume that for that time, the level of professionalization of the family (which also included dentist and lawyers in addition to those already mentioned) would have meant the inclusion of the members of Johnson's immediate family within the upper middle class of Texas society; however, the inability of Sam Johnson to provide his family with a stable income was a cause of cyclical financial success and dismal poverty. Sam Johnson cannot generally be considered to have been a good businessman and he suffered rather severe financial reverses in real estate and ranching. As a youngster in Johnson City, Johnson worked as a farmer, printer's devil, and as a shoeshine boy. He also worked on a road gang, distributed handbills for a movie house and sold fur pelts. His dream was to become a millionaire and a hero; and it seems that the poverty of his youth had a damaging effect on his personality in that as an adult he often reacted to "real and imagined hardships."²

The personalities of Johnson's parents were rather incompatible and

¹ Ibid., pp. 7, 17, and 56; Doris Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream. (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1976), p. 31.

² Steinberg, Sam Johnson's Boy, pp. 15, 17-18, 20; Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, p. 43.

it would appear that his mother, in particular, affected the shaping of the future president's personality, although some of his father's traits seem to "have left their mark" as well. Rebekah Johnson was considered to be a bright woman. However, her ideal of the essence of the learned gentleman was somewhat of a pre-Civil War, Southern conception--the great orator, who stood on a firm base of high moral and religious principles, and who loved learning. By comparison, Sam Johnson enjoyed the rougher life of Texas state politics, which included liquor and smoke-filled rooms, which were an abomination to his wife. She preferred national politics, which it would appear she considered to be more genteel than the coarse and tumble world of which her husband was a part. Also, he was definitely a highly principled man. He was a committed progressive and staunchly fought the Ku Klux Klan, and he vigorously defended civil liberties during his tenure in the Texas Legislature. He also led a fight to allow the German settlers in Texas, of which there were many, to retain their native language, during a heated legislative controversy at the outbreak of the First World War. He and his brother-in-law, Clarence Martin, also fought to defend Governor Ferguson during his impeachment, even though they were unsuccessful.

During the earliest years of his life, Lyndon Johnson, the eldest child of his family (see Plate 10) was extremely attached to his mother. It seems that she undertook to recreate in him, her recently deceased father whom she worshipped; as well as to fulfill in her son the dreams for her own life, which she was never able to fulfill. Biographies note that any deviation from what she desired was met with a complete withdrawal of the affection which she usually lavished on the child. The second greatest influence on Johnson during his early life was his paternal grand-

father, Sam Ealy Johnson, a rancher, cowboy and cattle drive. When his grandfather died, the Johnsons had just moved to Johnson City. That combination of events seemed to bring the boy closer to his father, in terms of imitative behavior, much to the concern and disapproval of his mother.

Johnson's father was fond of setting tests of manhood for his son, a practice that "L.B.J." was to replicate as President in his relationship with others. The young man and his father spent a great deal of time together at the state legislature. The frequent absence of his father, as well as the disapproval Rebekah Johnson felt for her husband's life style combined to put Lyndon in a rather authoritative position within the home.

As a youngster Johnson was faced with a real dilemma. In order to satisfy his mother he had to adopt a "love of learning" and take violin lessons, etc. which was considered to be "sissified behavior" by his peers. In order to please his father and "get on" within his peer group at Johnson City, he had to imitate his father's rather flamboyant style of living. It seems that he adjusted to this by spending his earliest years pleasing his mother and his pre-adolescent and early teen years imitating his father. This personal dichotomy of conflicting values was to indelibly mark Johnson's personality--he constantly berated the Eastern intellectual community, yet he desperately wanted to be accepted by this group. Very often during his presidency, his most coarse behavior was reserved for men one would ordinarily consider to be the most cultured. However, the daily accommodation to his parent's desires ended when Johnson was fifteen. By that time he had graduate from high school and he and a group of friends left Texas for California, where Johnson was to stay for two years working at odd jobs before returning to Texas.

¹Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, pp. 19-45.

Lyndon Johnson's Educational Background

Experience As a Professional Educator

Lyndon Johnson attended high school in Johnson City, Texas. The high school there had a three-year rather than a four-year educational program. At the completion of his high school studies, Johnson and some friends spent a year travelling and working in California. Upon his return to Texas, Johnson decided to attend college. His mother, after tutoring him so that he could pass the college entrance examinations as a provisional student, arranged for him to be accepted at Southwest Texas State Teachers College.¹

Finances were usually an important concern for the Johnson family. Therefore, it was necessary for Johnson to work while attending school. He was able to obtain employment at college as an assistant to the President, Dr. Cecil Evans. Money again became an important concern for Lyndon Johnson after he had completed his first two years of college.

However, he had acquired sufficient credits to earn a two-year teaching position in Cotulla, Texas. During that year he took correspondence courses, and when he returned to school the following year, he combined his third and fourth year courses and completed his degree in a single year. He graduated on August 19, 1930 with a Bachelor of Science degree.² In 1935, Johnson studied law for a year at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.³

¹Eric F. Goldman, The Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), p. 525.

²Ibid., pp. 521 and 525. I do feel that Goldman is a bit "snobbish" in his assessment of the value of Johnson's alma maters. Goldman's view of what constitutes a good education seems to be narrowly defined to a "name school."

³Steinberg, Sam Johnson's Boy, pp. 37 and 38.

Johnson had served not only as teacher, but also as principal during the year he spent in Cotulla. Consequently, after graduation from college in 1930, he was able to obtain a teaching position at Sam Houston High School with the help of his uncle, George Johnson, who was a teacher at the school. While teaching high school in Houston, Lyndon Johnson became involved in the campaign of Richard Kleberg, who was seeking office as a member of the U. S. House of Representatives. After Kleberg won and was assembling his Washington staff, Wally Hopkins, an attorney and member of the Texas State House of Representatives managed to secure Johnson a post as a member of the Kleberg team in Washington. Hopkins, who was an early mentor of Johnson, had first noticed the future president when Johnson had given an impromptu speech on behalf of Pat Neff who was seeking office as Railroad Commissioner. At the time of the speech Johnson was still in college.¹

The Political Career of Lyndon Johnson

While in Washington, Johnson quickly began to distinguish himself. He became the Chairman of the Little Congress, an organization made up of the secretaries to Congressmen, which he ran efficiently even though he was one of its youngest members (see Plate 12). On September 12, 1934, Johnson was attending a hearing of the Railroad Commission in Austin, Texas. He met Claudia Taylor, a member of a wealthy family from Karnack, Texas. He married her three months later on November 17. (The Johnsons had two daughters--Lynda Bird born in 1944 and Luci Baines, born in 1947). In August of 1935 Johnson left Kleberg's staff to accept a Presidential appointment as the Texas Director of the National Youth Administration.

¹Ibid., pp. 37 and 38.

Johnson was the youngest of the state directors. However, he successfully administered programs which enlisted twelve thousand Texas youths in projects involving conservation, community improvements and the extension of the young people's educational opportunities.

James P. Buchanan, the representative from the Tenth Congressional District in Texas, died in 1937. Johnson decided to relinquish his post as Director of the National Youth Administration to run in the special election to fill Buchanan's congressional seat. He won that election on April 10, 1937 and sworn in on May 14 of that year. In 1938 he was elected to his first full term in the United States House of Representatives. Johnson was re-elected to the House in 1940.

Johnson became the first member of Congress to enter the Armed Forces. He joined the Navy as a Lieutenant Commander three days after the bombing of Pearl Harbor in December of 1941. Even though he was serving in the Navy, Johnson was re-elected to the House of Representatives in 1942. He returned to Washington in July of 1942 when President Roosevelt ordered all members of Congress back to the United States.

Johnson first ran for the United States Senate in 1948. His opponent in the primary election runoff was Coke Stevenson; L.B.J. won this election by 87 votes out of 900,000. He was sworn in as a member of the United States Senate in January of 1949. He became the Democratic Whip in 1951. When the Democrats lost control of the Senate in 1952, they elected Johnson Minority Leader. In 1954 Johnson was re-elected to the Senate, defeating his opponent Dudley Daugherty by 875,000 votes to 350,000 votes. In 1955 he became the Majority Leader of the Senate.

In 1960, Lyndon Johnson decided to run for the Presidency of the United States. However, he was defeated by John F. Kennedy at the Demo-

cratic convention. Kennedy selected Johnson to be a running mate. In the 1960 campaign Johnson ran for another term as Senator as well as for the Vice-Presidency. Kennedy and Johnson were elected by a narrow margin; Johnson was sworn in as Vice-President of the United States in January of 1961.

Lyndon Johnson served as Vice-President from 1961 to November of 1963, when John Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas. Johnson was sworn in as President of the United States. Although usually applauded for his domestic programs, the United States' involvement in the Vietnam War was the source of much controversy over Johnson's role as President. Johnson decided not to "seek nor accept" the Presidential nomination of his party in 1968.

On January 20, 1969 Johnson retired from active political life to his ranch in Johnson City, Texas. On January 22, 1973, Lyndon Johnson died of a heart attack in Johnson City, Texas.

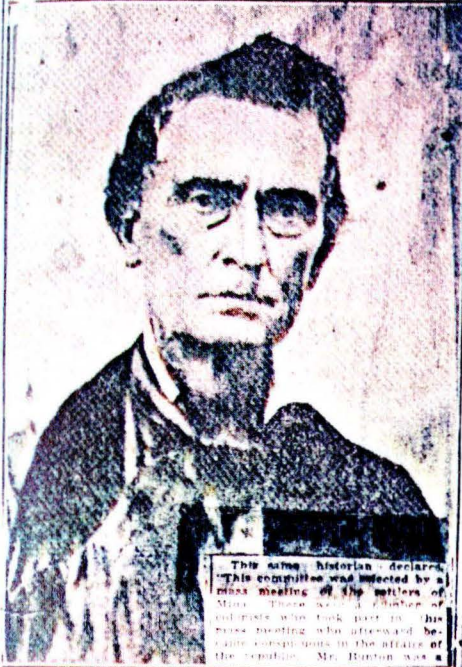
PLATE 1

JOHNSON WHEELER BUNTON, ANCESTER OF

LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library

Declaration Signer



JOHN W. BUNTON

Portrait of John W. Bunton, signer of the Texas Declaration of Independence. This picture was given to the University of Texas library by Miss Bessie Bunton of Kyle, Texas, his granddaughter.

By LORENA DRUMMOND

Forming the nucleus for a noteworthy collection of photographs, possessions and personal documents of the signers of the Texas Declaration of Independence, Mrs. Mattie Austin, Hatcher, archivist of the University of Texas, has secured a number of memorabilia of John W. Bunton who came to Texas from Tennessee in 1832, at the age of 25 years, and settled near his old friend, Edward Burdick, in what is now Rastrop County.

Among the effects of Mr. Bunton, all of which have come to the University library through the efforts of his granddaughter, Miss Bessie Bunton of Kyle, are his photograph, his cattle brand, the "Turkey Foot" brand, brands of brothers and those of several of his sons, and a letter written to him in 1837 by J. Pinckney Henderson, then a special agent and minister from Texas to the English and French courts.

Mr. Bunton was born, reared and educated in Tennessee. He belonged to the State militia of Tennessee and took an active part in the Indian fights on the Tennessee frontier. When he came to Texas he found the frontier needing men of his type to help combat the encroachments of Mexican tyrants. The first steps toward an independent organization in Texas were made through committees of safety, according to a sketch of Mr. Bunton by an historian dealing with the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Mr. Bunton was active in organizing one of the first of these committees, that at Mine, later known as Rastrop, in May, 1835, and was chosen as its first secretary.

man less than 30 years of age, strong and vigorous and filled with an enthusiastic desire to render service to the country. He was a man of commanding personality, accustomed to hard and arduous work.

Bunton Becomes Leader

Mr. Bunton soon became intimately identified with the settlement and development of the country and joined in its defense against Indian raids. No active did he become in the country's defense that he was soon recognized as a leader in thought and action.

"When a consultation of all the people was called in 1835 to meet at San Felipe he was urged to permit the use of his name as a candidate to represent the Municipality of Rastrop. He was elected by a large majority over two opponents. He attended the convention and joined in proclaiming a Declaration of Independence from Mexico and was a signer of that instrument. When a committee was formed to draft a constitution Mr. Bunton was appointed on that committee. He was appointed chairman of a special committee to report on the condition of the regular army.

"After the attainment of the convention Mr. Bunton joined Company A, First Regiment Texas Volunteers, and participated in the Battle of San Jacinto. He made a record for bravery and daring in the prosperous charge against the Mexican headquarters. His towering form and rapid movements would be seen under the shiver of the fight. He penetrated so far in the ranks of the defenders of the headquarters that it is miraculous that he was not killed. But he came out of the deadly conflict unscathed."

After Mr. Bunton's return to Texas following the victory at San Jacinto he was elected a member of the first Congress of the Republic and was again chosen a member of the Third Congress. He died about 1872.

An illustrious descendant of John Bunton I, another John Bunton, was a Texas hero and statesman. He was Lyndane's great-uncle.

PLATE 2

JOSEPH WILSON BAINES, MATERNAL GRANDFATHER OF
LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library



Joseph Wilson Baines.

PLATE 3

SAM JOHNSON, FATHER OF

LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON

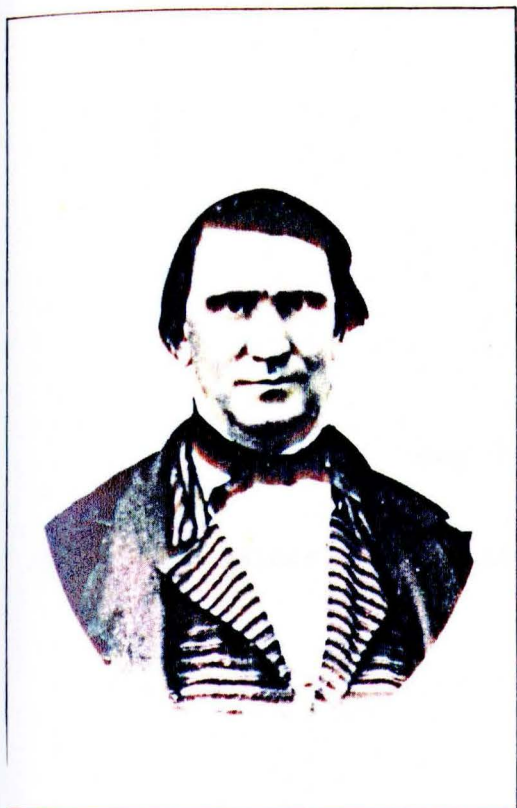
The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library



PLATE 4

JANE McINTOSH BUNTON, GREATGRANDMOTHER OF
LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library



Robert Holmes Buntan



Priscilla Jane (McIntosh) Buntan

PLATE 5

SAM JOHNSON AND STUDENTS

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library

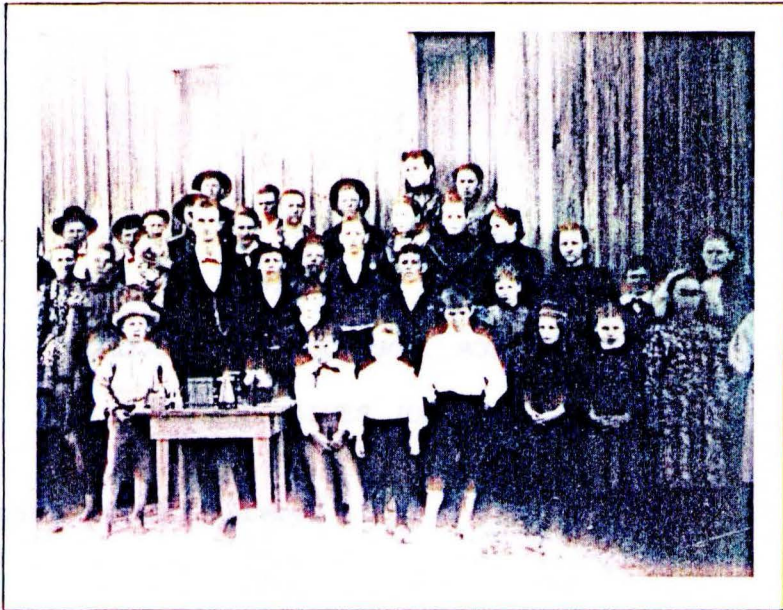


PLATE 6

REBEKAH BAINES JOHNSON, MOTHER OF
LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library



PLATE 7

REVEREND GEORGE WASHINGTON BAINES

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library

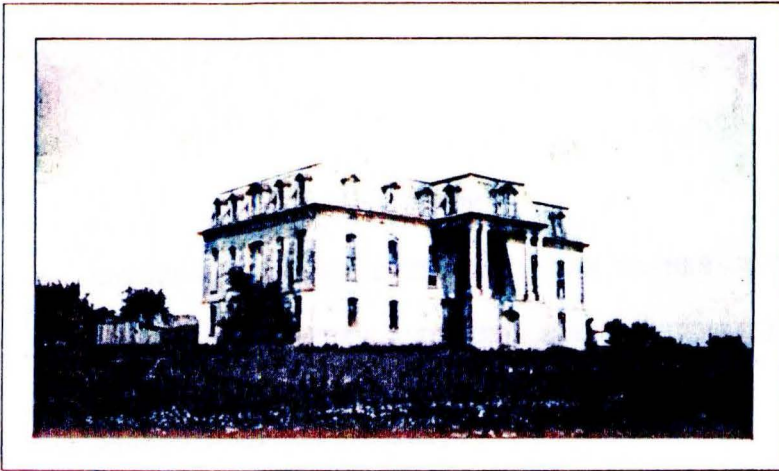


Rev. George W. Baines Jr.

PLATE 8

BAYLOR UNIVERSITY DURING THE PRESIDENCY OF
REVEREND GEORGE WILSON BAINES

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library



Baylor at Independence at the time
George W. Baines was its president
1861-62.

PLATE 9

MATERNAL GRANDPARENTS OF LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON:

JOSEPH WILSON BAINES AND RUTH AMENT (HUFFMAN) BAINES

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library



Joseph Wilson Baines



Ruth Ament (Huffman) Baines.



Amenthal, their home at Blanco, Texas.

PLATE 10

LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON AS A CHILD

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library



At eighteen months.

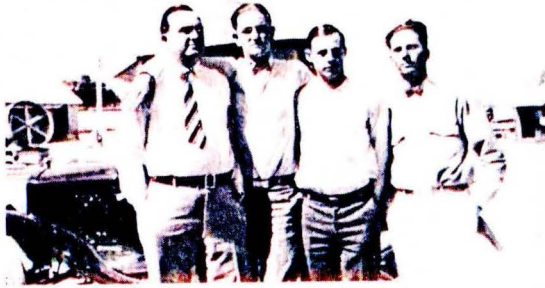


Notice Lyndon's protective air; he was very fond of his little brother.

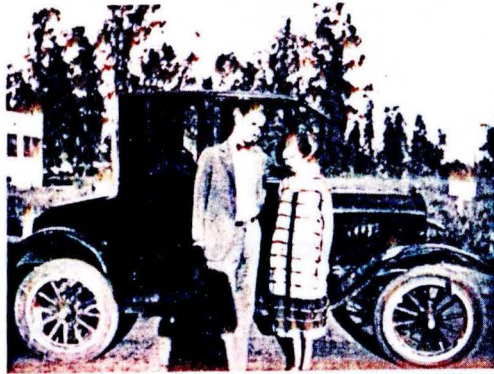
PLATE 11

LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON IN CALIFORNIA

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library



In California.



Christmas 1926.

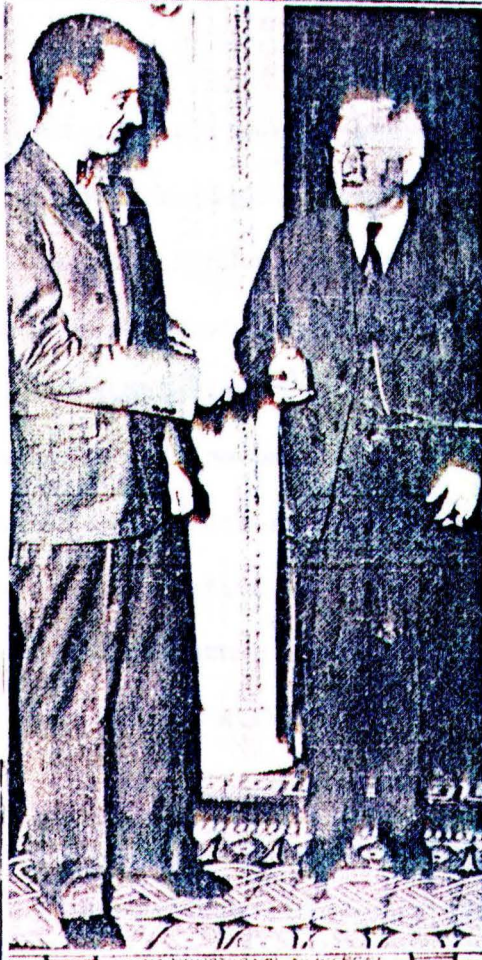
PLATE 12

NEWSPAPER CLIPPING ABOUT JOHNSON'S ELECTION

AS SPEAKER OF THE "LITTLE CONGRESS"

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library

EVERYTHING O.K. NOW



Lyndon B. Johnson of San Marcos Named Head of Little Conference

Lyndon B. Johnson, secretary to Congressman Richard M. Kleberg of Kingsville, has been elected speaker of Little Congress, news dispatches from Washington state.

Johnson is the third Texan to hold the post in the past five years.

The Washington report characterizes his election as "unique," in that it has been the practice in

the past to elevate subordinate officers in their regular order. Johnson, who has never held an office, was elected after a bitter fight.

Johnson is the son of Mr. and Mrs. S. E. Johnson of San Marcos. He attended San Marcos Teachers college, being closely associated with the administration, serving as a secretary.

The "Little Congress," an organization made up of secretaries to members of congress, is ready to operate now, since John Garner presented gavel, made from tree planted by General Sam Houston, to Lyndon B. Johnson, secretary to Representative Kleberg of Texas. Johnson is newly elected speaker of "Little Congress."

CHAPTER II

THE EDUCATION OF LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON AND HIS WORK AS A PROFESSIONAL EDUCATOR

Lyndon Johnson's Education

Eric Goldman, a history professor from Princeton, who was to serve in the Johnson Administration wrote of the President, "I am sure that I have never met a more intelligent person than Lyndon Johnson--intelligent in terms of sheer I.Q.'s, a clear, swift, penetrating mind, with an abundance of its own type of imagination and subtleties."¹

Contemporaries of Johnson also felt that he was an extremely bright child. Ben Crider, a lifelong friend of Lyndon Johnson noted that as a young boy Johnson always sought to be with boys five to ten years his senior because boys his own age appeared less mature than he was, were not thought to be entertaining to Lyndon and did not stimulate him mentally as he was smarter than they.²

As a child, Johnson was very attached to his mother, Rebekah Baines Johnson. Before LBJ start school, it is known that his mother read a great deal to him. It would appear that both he and his mother derived a great deal of pleasure from this past-time. At the age of four Johnson would run off to the local school. Although he was brought home several times, he kept trying to go to school, so eventually, they let him stay.³

¹Goldman, The Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson, p. 525.

²Ben Criden Oral History. Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library, pp. 2 and 6.

³Mrs. Joseph Baines Saunders Oral History, Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library, p. 13.

The first school that Johnson attended was a one room school house near his home (see Plate 13). The teacher was Kathryn Deadrich Loney. She remembers that all of the students were quite well-behaved. In particular Mrs. Loney recalls that Johnson was a physically healthy child who liked to recite his lessons while sitting on her lap. As he was the youngest student in the class, none of the other children minded. Lyndon Johnson's mother stands out in the mind of Mrs. Loney as being a very cultured woman who always encouraged Lyndon to do things rather than ever scolding him.¹

Lyndon Johnson's report card for the year 1915-1916 indicates that he was promoted from grade three to grade four at the age of seven. His teacher that year was Carrie Yett and the school superintendent was L. C. Fawcett. His grades for September and October were A in reading, B+ in spelling, B in writing and arithmetic, D in grammar, and C in geography and deportment. By the end of that year his marks had steadily improved so he had A+ in reading and spelling, A in drawing, arithmetic and physiology and B+ in grammar and deportment.² (See Plate 14)

Lyndon Johnson's eighth grade was spent in the high school in Stonewall, Texas. In a letter to his grandmother, Mrs. Ruth A. Baines, dated December 3, 1920, he notes her forthcoming Christmas visit and states that he rides three miles to school daily on his mule. He also mentions that his present teacher, Mr. Lou Brodd, is the "best one he ever had."³

¹Kathryn Deadrich Loney Oral History, Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library, pp. 46.

²Report card of Lyndon Baines Johnson, 1911-1916. Archives of Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library.

³Lyndon Johnson to Mrs. Ruth A. Baines, 3 December 1915.

Lyndon Johnson attended high school in Johnson City (Plates 5 and 6).

The school had a three year non-state accredited program that would later present problems for the future president when he decided to apply for admission to college. The high school graduating class had six students--four girls and two boys. Johnson had been elected class president that year. A class mate and friend Kittie Clyde Leonord recalls that he could be a good student when he wanted to be and that his favorite subjects were history and government. She remembers that though classes were small, grades were often combined and that, in general, Johnson seemed to get along well with his teachers.¹ Johnson graduated from high school in the spring of 1924, at the age of sixteen, and went to California with some friends.

When Johnson decided to attend college after returning from his travels in California, his mother arranged for him to attend Southwest Texas State Teachers College. He was admitted as a provisional student in February of 1927, providing he could pass a series of examinations given after the completion of some sub-college courses. His mother went to San Marcos where the school was located and tutored Lyndon to the successful completion of these examinations. An additional problem was a lack of money. Johnson was able to negotiate a loan and his mother also discovered that her son would be able to supplement his income with employment on campus.²

Dr. Cecil Evans was the President of Southwest Texas State Teachers

¹Leanord Oral History, pp. 8-11.

²Steinberg, Sam Johnson's Boy, pp. 3, 9, 16, 22, 28, 35, 38, 39.

College. He had assumed the presidency in 1911 after having served as general agent of the Texas Conference for Education. Dr. Evans knew many Texas legislators because he often visited Austin in order to seek appropriations for South West Texas State Teachers College. He was the brother of Hiram Wesley Evans, the Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan. Most people who knew him felt that Cecil Evans had nothing to do with the Klan. Evans always refused to discuss his brother and his brother's position within the Klan. However, his brother's public image and the fact that the Klan had expanded enormously during the 1920's under Hiram Evans' direction, was a constant source of consternation to the school president. He is remembered by Willard Deason, a classmate of Lyndon Johnson, as being a man that was quite difficult to get to know.¹

Once on campus Johnson persistently implored Dr. Evans to give him a job in which he could be of personal help to the president. Within a rather short time he had convinced Evans to create a job for him as his "appointments secretary;" and Lyndon Johnson became the person that one "had to see" in order "to get to the president." Dr. Evans also began to have Lyndon accompany him to the state capital and he became responsible for handling all of the school's business with any of the government agencies with which the school had to deal. Johnson also managed to convince Evans to allow him to live in a room over his garage.²

Willard Deason, a classmate of LBJ, who later worked for Johnson at the National Youth Administration, recalls three qualities that were

¹Willard Deason Oral History I, Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library, p. 5.

²Steinberg, Sam Johnson's Boy, p. 36; Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, pp. 44 and 45.

apparent in LBJ during his college years--his energy, a natural political inclination to get to know everyone and to speak to everyone and an inquisitiveness. The combination of these aspects of his personality made him stand out from the average student.¹

One incident that exhibited some of the character traits of the young LBJ and possibly foreshadow the political drive of the matured Johnson involves his decision to overcome the power of a local campus organization called the Black Stars. This group represented the campus athletic and established elite. Johnson decided to organize a counter group, the White Stars, in order to vie for control of campus activities. They nominated Willard Deason to run against a popular Black Star senior who was seeking re-election as Class President. The night before the balloting the White Stars met and decided that they would lose the election by twenty votes. There were approximately 150 students in the senior class. The White Stars decided to give up as it was 8:00 p.m. However, LBJ felt that they might still win the election; he worked alone from midnight until 8:00 the next morning talking to students. The White Stars won that election by 28 votes.²

During his college years Johnson was the editor of the school newspaper, The College Star; he was also a member of the debate team. Another classmate, Thomas Dunlap, a member of the White Stars and the debate team, recalls that he and Johnson, two other students and the debate coach would travel by car to debate other local schools. Because of the depression and the scarcity of money, the team was not able to travel great distances.

¹Deason I, pp. 7 and 8.

²Ibid, pp. 8 and 9.

After finishing his first two years of college, Lyndon Johnson was again financially unable to complete his degree. However, he had sufficient credits to earn a two year teaching certificate in Texas; and, Dr. Evans was able to secure him a teaching job in Cotulla, Texas. During that year he took correspondence courses, and when he returned to school the following year, he combined his third and fourth year courses and completed his degree in a single year; he was graduated on August 19, 1930 with a Bachelor of Science degree.¹ In 1935, Johnson did study law for a year at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.²

Educational Views of Lyndon Johnson

Southwest Texas State Teachers College

Johnson wrote editorials for The College Star, a weekly student newspaper published by Southwest Texas State Teachers College during the years 1927-1930. He served as editor-in-chief of the paper during 1929 and 1930. The editorials written by LBJ indicate his interest in education and his feelings about the field that he was preparing to enter.

In August of 1927 Johnson wrote that education allowed one to develop their highest and best talents. He felt that the college was the educator that directs, trains and develops the student's latent powers. Through this training Johnson felt that the ability and influence of the individual was increased ten-fold. Additionally, education, in Johnson's opinion, puts zest and life into life.³

¹Steinberg, Sam Johnson's Boy, pp. 45 and 50.

²Joseph Nathan Kane, Facts About the American Presidents. 2nd ed. (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1968), p. 264.

³August 17, 1927, The College Star. San Marcos, Texas.

Johnson described his view of the importance of the teacher in a 1928 editorial. He stated that the first duty of a teacher, in his view, was to impart knowledge to inquiring and impressionable minds. The teacher is rewarded for his years of patient study by being granted the ability to be of service to humanity. Beyond that, the truly fine teacher is capable of leading students toward a love of and quest for knowledge. Thus, Johnson noted that he felt the vocation of teaching to be a most noble profession deserving of praise and respect.¹

Johnson demonstrated his concern for the importance of education during his school years. LBJ cited open-mindedness as one of the great rewards of the educated person. Johnson felt that this quality not only allowed for the individual to be more successful as a person; but that it produced the cumulative effect of allowing the person to seek and attain more education. The future president noted that the purpose of education was the "development of man to a better understanding of the value and purpose of life."²

Johnson was to become a professional educator prior to his graduation from Southwest Texas State Teachers College. As a teacher and principal, LBJ would be able to implement some of the educational values which he held. For Johnson, part of that implementation included the attempt to convince the students at Welhausen School in Cotulla, Texas, that education was important, necessary and worthy of the students attention and interest.

¹April 18, 1928, The College Star, San Marcos, Texas.

²May 2, 1928, The College Star, San Marcos, Texas.

Lyndon Johnson as a
Professional Educator

Even though Lyndon Johnson worked while attending Southwest Texas State Teachers College, accumulating the necessary money to pay his tuition and living expenses at San Marcos was an ever prevalent problem. On February 21, 1927, he wrote to Don Biggers attempting to secure a loan to cover the cost of his tuition and expenses.¹ Despite his attempts to secure needed funds, at the age of twenty, it became necessary that he interrupt his college studies to accept a teaching position at Cotulla, Texas. Johnson was assigned to the Welhausen School. The town of Cotulla was where O. Henry made his home and was considered to be the wildest town in the "Old West." Johnson was originally hired to teach the fifth, sixth and seventh grades for a salary of \$125 per month. When Johnson arrived, the superintendent asked him to be the principal of the five-teacher school in addition to carrying out his teaching duties (see Plates 17, 18 and 19). In a speech of November 7, 1966 delivered at Cotulla, President Johnson recalled that his duties included teaching fifth, sixth and seventh grades, acting as the principal of the school, coaching the boys' baseball team, acting as the debate coach and playground supervisor, attempting to be the song leader and sometimes helping out as the assistant janitor.²

Welhausen School served children of extreme poverty who were primarily of Mexican origin. Johnson felt that a major goal of the school had to be to motivate the children in order for them to overcome the physical and mental deprivations of their situation. Johnson stated in

¹ Lyndon Johnson to Don Biggers, 21 February 1927.

² Speech at Cotulla, Texas, 7 November 1966.

1966, that during his tenure at Welhausen there were no lunch facilities or school buses and little money for the education of the children. Money was not available for playground equipment, volley balls or baseball bats. Consequently, he spent his first month's salary on purchases of school equipment for the students.¹

In order to alleviate some of the deprivations being experienced by the children, Johnson began to institute various student competitions. These included public speaking, spelling, baseball and track. He brought parents in to view the competitions; and when he discovered which parents owned cars, he provided them with time schedules to transport the students to competitions which Johnson had arranged with other schools in the area. He was so effective in ensuring rides for his students, that some of the parent "volunteers" contemplated selling their automobiles. He was a strict disciplinarian who spanked disobedient boys and "tongue-lashed" disobedient girls. One rule which he would not permit to be broken was that English be the only language spoken on the school grounds. He believed that a knowledge of English was crucial to the upward mobility of the children in his care; consequently, the students of Welhausen School were given the choice of learning English or remaining silent. Johnson also enjoyed teaching the history of Texas. He attempted to instill within the children the idea that they could become President, although at that time, the majority of the children's parents were prohibited from voting.

Johnson had learned that the previous principal had had a problem with the superintendent because it was felt that the principal did not

¹ Ibid.

consult frequently enough with the students' parents. Lyndon Johnson managed to find a friend in the superintendent's office, who would warn him of an impending school visitation. Upon learning that the superintendent was on his way to the school, Johnson would run outside, "round up" the street corner loiterers and bring them into his office. Thus, the superintendent always found Johnson's office "packed with parents." During this time Johnson also volunteered to coach the high school basketball team and the girls high school softball team.¹

Lyndon Johnson spent one year at the Welhausen School in Cotulla. He then returned to San Marcos in order to complete his degree. During this final year of college, Johnson began to apply for educational positions in Texas. He applied for a Ward Principalship in Brenham, Texas. Letters of recommendation written on his behalf indicate that he was considered by his professors to be an individual of "rare intellectual strength and great spiritual force as well as reliable."² It is also indicated that his experience in Cotulla had been considered to be successful and that Johnson exhibited poise and judgment in dealing with people.³ Another teacher noted that Johnson had an excellent academic record (B average) even though he maintained interest and active service in many areas.⁴ The superintendent of Cotulla Public Schools, W. T. Donaho, wrote a letter on Johnson's behalf to Hays Scission of the Raymond-

¹ Steinberg, Sam Johnson's Boy, pp. 45-49.

² Mrs. U. S. Netteville to Superintendent Holleman, 16 April 1930.

³ W. I. Woodson to Superintendent Holleman, 26 March 1930.

⁴ W. Nichols to Superintendent Holleman, 29 March 1930.

ville Texas schools, recommending that LBJ be favorably considered for the position of High School Principal. Donaho noted that Johnson mixed well, worked hard and would carry out school policies regardless of his (Johnson's) personal opinion.¹ (It would appear that Johnson applied for this position while in Cotulla and when the job was not forthcoming he returned to school.) Johnson completed his degree in August of 1930 (see plate 20).

Because the Depression had just begun, there was a "freeze" on opening new positions in the state's schools. Consequently Johnson wrote to his uncle, George Johnson, at Sam Houston High School concerning the possibility of a job. His uncle's friends in Houston promised Lyndon a job as a debate and public speaking teacher, with an annual salary of \$1,600, as soon as there was a vacancy at Sam Houston High School. Johnson decided to "cover himself" in case he did not have a job by September. Dr. Evans was able to secure him a position as a public speaking teacher at the high school in Pearsall, Texas. Six weeks after the opening of the school year, his uncle notified him that the promised job in Houston was available. Johnson managed not only to mollify the irate superintendent in Pearsall; but he also convinced him to give his sister, Rebekah, the job that he was vacating.

Once in Houston, Johnson talked to the principal of Sam Houston High School, William Moyes, into allowing him to instruct adult evening classes in addition to his normal teaching load. When Lyndon found out that the school had never won any debate awards, he decided that the school would develop a team and secure the state championship in debate.

¹W. T. Nichols to Hays Scission, 9 February 1929.

He began by listening to all 1,700 students speak formally; this was accomplished by having the students stay after school until they had been "properly auditioned." The better speakers were organized into teams and speaking competitions were held between classes; students were again kept after school in order to improve their speaking and debate skills. By Christmas, he had selected four students--two boys for one team and two girls for another team--who would represent the school in all debate tournaments. After intense research, study and preparation, both teams won many championships and were invited to the state finals. The girls team lost in the initial rounds of the competition; however, the boys team lost the final debate of the competition by a vote of 3 to 2. Johnson and the team wept openly at the decision. Johnson and the debate team had received so much favorable publicity for the school that in a year when most teachers received a cut in salary, Johnson was given a \$100 raise. He planned to do even better things for the debate at Sam Houston High School the following year, but his plans underwent a rather sudden change when he went to Washington as the secretary to Representative Richard Kleberg.¹

Johnson's education and interests made him successful in his Washington position. Johnson's appointment as the secretary to Representative Kleberg further prepared the young Texan to assume the role of Texas Director of the National Youth Administration.

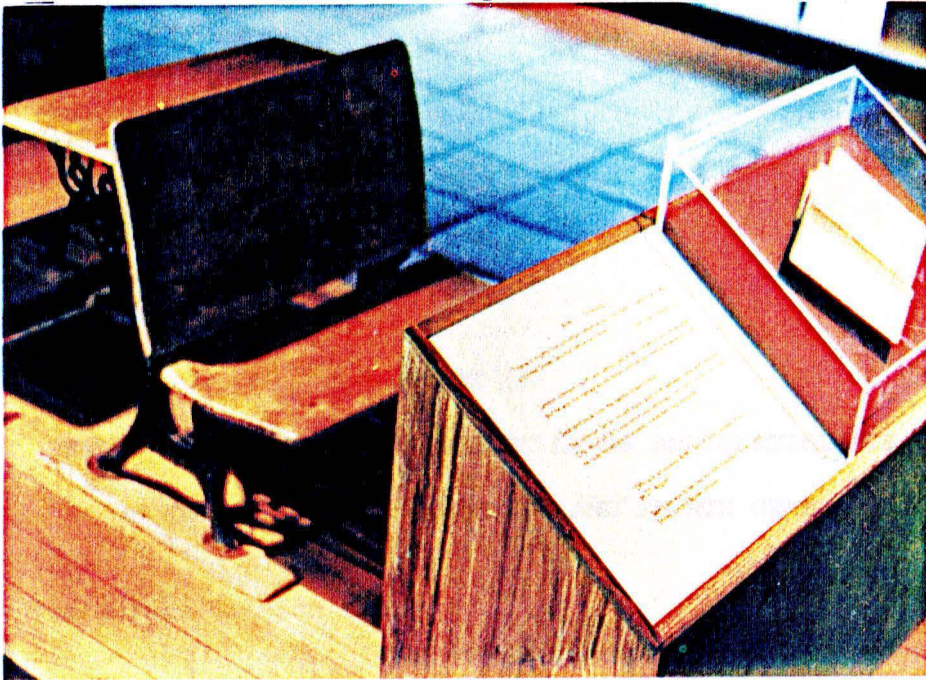
¹ Steinberg, Sam Johnson's Boy, pp. 54-59.



PLATE 13

THE LITTLE OLD DESK CAME FROM THE ALBERT SCHOOL WHICH
LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON ATTENDED

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library



This little old desk came from the Albert School, which Lyndon Johnson attended. The book, which bears his signature, came from the same school. Its subject is Stonewall Jackson, appropriate because nearby Stonewall, Texas, was named for the famous general.

PLATE 14

LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON'S REPORT CARDS AND CERTIFICATE
OF PROMOTION WHILE IN THIRD AND FOURTH GRADES

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library

Public
FUGL _____ Style or year of course _____ District No. _____
Age _____
School _____ Year 1916 _____
PARENTS _____

PARENTS

Year 1916 1917

TO PARENTS

The school year is fast closing without the usual report to the parents. This is due to the fact that the school year is fast closing without the usual report to the parents. This is due to the fact that the school year is fast closing without the usual report to the parents.

[illegible]

Jan. _____

Feb. _____

March _____

April _____

May _____

"The best thought of the community must be in close sympathy with the school."

Sept.	John R. B. Smith
Oct.	John R. B. Smith
Nov.	John R. B. Smith
Dec.	John R. B. Smith

E-reading: 90-100, V-very good: 80-90,
C-good: 70-80, F-fair: 60-70, P-poor: 50-60
Mark below P on stand and below 50 on
conductors considered questionable.
The parent or guardian will please sign below
and return promptly to teacher.

[illegible]*Scallop grading*

$44 = 70 - 26$
 $44 = 70 - 26$
 TO THE TEACHER

PLATE 15

LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON AND FELLOW STUDENTS AT

JOHNSON CITY HIGH SCHOOL, 1924

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library

PLATE 16

STUDENTS AT JOHNSON CITY HIGH SCHOOL, 1924

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library





PLATE 17

TEACHERS IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN COTULLA, TEXAS,

INCLUDING LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON (1928)

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library



PLATE 18

WELHAUSEN ATHLETIC CLUB IN COTULLA, TEXAS,

INCLUDING LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON (1928)

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library



PLATE 19

LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON AND FELLOW TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

AT WELHAUSEN GRADE SCHOOL IN COTULLA, TEXAS (1929)

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library



WELHAUSEN GRADE SCHOOL
6th AND 7th GRADES
COTULLA, TEXAS.
MAY 7th 1929

PLATE 20

LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON'S DIPLOMA FROM SOUTHWEST TEXAS STATE
TEACHERS COLLEGE AND HIS TEACHER'S PERMANENT CERTIFICATE

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library

Teachers Permanent Certificate

The Department of Education

State of Texas

Mr. Lyndon Baines Johnson

having presented satisfactory evidence of good moral character, and having fulfilled the requirements prescribed by law, is now granted this Permanent High School state certificate, which entitles him to teach in all grades of the public schools of Texas. This certificate is valid during the life of the holder, unless revoked by lawful authority.

Date of issue August 21, 1930

REQUIREMENTS

 approved college degree with teaching experience and professional courses.

6 years approved teachers college training.

L. B. H. Harris
State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

SEAL

CHAPTER III

LYNDON JOHNSON AS THE TEXAS DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION

This chapter will examine Lyndon Johnson's role as the Texas Director of the National Youth Administration. This was Johnson's first major administrative post and was certainly an important step toward the development of his political career. During this time, LBJ was able to initiate policy, implement programs and make decisions which would have a direct effect on the education of those involved in the National Youth Administration programs. These policies, programs and decisions reflect the educational views and values of Lyndon Johnson.

Background Information on the National Youth Administration

The impact of the Depression of the 1930s on the United States is even more apparent when viewed in contrast to American life during the 1920s. Having come out of a successful role in World War I, the United States had finally moved into a respected position in the diplomatic world of Europe. For the first time, a greater number of "average Americans" were aware of their country's growing prestige. Domestically, there was an increased sense of national security and personal well-being. In general, business was good in the United States. Money was available to the average person; and the rights of workers were beginning to be recognized and understood. This general sense of well-being allowed families to be concerned with the long-range future of their children as

opposed to the mere day-to-day needs of a family. Consequently, education became important to the average American. Many began to see this as the means of insuring the future of their children.

Although some economic seers may have been able to foresee the disaster that was to come in October of 1929. The failure of the stock market was only the beginning of the problems that were to face the United States and her citizens. Unemployment soared; personal income dwindled; food, housing and clothing became luxury items. Education was not a major consideration during this period of extreme personal and national hardship. It was into this scenario that the programs and personality of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt emerged and the public life of one of his young admirers, Lyndon Baines Johnson of Texas, was to begin.

By 1933, there were five million unemployed young people in the United States. Franklin Delano Roosevelt attempted to alleviate this problem by establishing the Civilian Conservation Corps. As an additional step to aid the unemployed youth of America, Roosevelt issued an executive order on June 26, 1935 which brought the National Youth Administration (NYA) into existence.

Roosevelt set four major objectives for the NYA: (1) to provide funds for the part-time employment of (those) who needed money in order to finish school; (2) to provide funds to aid in developing work project to benefit the local community, while providing part-time employment for students; (3) to encourage job training, counseling, and placement services for the nation's youth and (4) to encourage the development of constructive, job qualifying leisure activities.

From its inception the NYA had two major program objectives: providing part-time employment to students so that they would have an oppor-

tunity to complete their education, and to provide job opportunities for young adults who had completed their formal education.

The NYA was organized at the state level with each state having a state Director, appointed by President Roosevelt. The Director served as the executive officer for the organization in that state. Among the major tasks of the executive officer was the selection of qualified young people for positions on NYA work projects, the monitoring and dispersal of monies allotted to the state organization by the federal government, and the selection of the work projects for that state. There were three basic criteria for the selection of NYA work projects: (1) the work had to be useful and bonafide; (2) there had to be some training value for all work, and (3) the young people had to be paid for their services.

The NYA lasted from 1935 until 1943. During that time, it dispersed \$166,838,000 to 2,134,000 high school and college students so they could continue their education. Additionally, \$467,600,000 was paid to 2,677,000 who had completed their formal education. The value to local areas in work projects completed by the young people would, at the national level, be extraordinarily difficult to assess or evaluate in financial equivalents.¹

The Appointment of Lyndon Johnson as

Texas Director of NYA

Some aspects of the manner in which Lyndon Johnson first became associated with the NYA are not completely clear. The commonly accepted version of his appointment as the Director of that organization would indicate that President Roosevelt appointed Johnson due to the intercession of

¹Clarke Newlon, L.B.J.: The Man From Johnson City. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1964), pp. 57-59.

Sam Rayburn, Representative Maury Maverick, and U. S. Senator Thomas Conally. Johnson supposedly requested the three men to intercede on his behalf, feeling that the directorship was a good opportunity to advance his political career. However, Alfred Steinberg notes that Mrs. Mamie Kleburg, wife of U. S. Representative Richard Kleberg (Johnson's boss) had visited her husband's Washington office and observed Johnson. Mrs. Kleberg felt that although Johnson was her husband's secretary, Johnson had begun to manage Representative Kleberg as well as his office. She was also convinced that Johnson would run for her husband's Congressional seat. Consequently, she insisted that the Congressman fire Johnson and he acquiesced. Johnson, in turn, went to his old friends, Rayburn and Maverick, for assistance.

Maverick was such a good friend of President Roosevelt, that he was able to see him without an appointment. He went to FDR seeking a White House appointment for Johnson. After some debate and political maneuvering, due to Johnson's age (he was 26 at the time) Roosevelt agreed to make LBJ the Texas Director of the NYA.

At the same time Johnson managed to convince Kleberg to allow him to name his successor in Kleberg's office. Johnson named his younger brother, Samuel Houston Johnson. The younger Johnson had recently graduated from Law School at Cumberland University in Tennessee and he became the new secretary to Kleberg.¹

LBJ Takes Over as Texas Director of NYA

As soon as he received his appointment as the Director of NYA, Johnson left Washington for Texas. The August 6, 1935 edition of the San

¹Steinberg, Sam Johnson's Boy, pp. 92-94.

Antonio Express announced that Johnson planned to open the Texas NYA headquarters in Austin on August 15. LBJ's first task was to assemble a staff that he could depend upon. He also had to prepare the offices in the Austin Littlefield Building that were to serve as his headquarters.¹

All of Johnson's biographers agree that his personality was such that he exemplified tremendous drive, dedication and almost frenzied activity toward whatever work in which he was engaged. His position as the Director of the NYA was certainly not an exception. Johnson worked in his office or on the road supervising work sites from seven in the morning until eleven at night. From eleven at night until one or two in the morning, he would read the federal directives and regulations which came from Washington concerning the NYA. His total concentration and attention was given to his work.²

Johnson's top staff was comprised of friends from his college days whom he had convinced to quit their jobs and work for him--men like Jesse Kellom, Sherman Birdwell, and Willard Deason. Another employee, Luther Jones, and Willard Deason lived with the Johnson's during this period.³ Johnson's staff was expected to exhibit the same dedicated service that LBJ exemplified.⁴ Specific work hours were unknown and Johnson deplored inefficiency. An example of this can be seen in an incident concerning one of the NYA clerks. Johnson's office was constantly deluged

¹ Ibid., p. 95.

² Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, p. 85.

³ Luther Jones, Oral History I, Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library, p. 14.

⁴ Ibid., p. 14.

with mail and requests. LBJ noticed that one of his clerks seemed overwrought by the futility of answering the mail. When Johnson questioned the clerk, LBJ was told that one letter would be answered only to find a later letter further down in the pile of mail. Infuriated, Johnson went to his desk, turned the pile of mail upside down and told the clerk to work from the bottom, answering the latest correspondence first. Johnson informed him that by working in that way he would cut his job in half.¹

Johnson's Relationship with the Black Community

While Texas Director of NYA

During his term as the Texas Director of the NYA Johnson exhibited a concern for blacks and poor individuals that was not typical of many NYA people.² On September 4, 1935, Lyndon Johnson received a letter from Dr. W. R. Banks, the principal of Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College (a Negro college) requesting the location of a CCC Camp near its campus. Dr. Banks suggested that the college could be of service to those in charge of the camp and that the school, which owned 14,000 acres of land, would be assisted if the CCC workers could drain the land, construct recreational parks, build swimming pools and bridges, extend the sewage disposal plant, grade the athletic field, and build or repair roads.³ On September 8, 1935 Johnson wrote a letter to Hugh Bennett of the Department of Agriculture in support of Banks' proposal.⁴ On the same day, LBJ sent another letter to John J. Carson, the Assistant Director of the NYA in

¹ Steinberg, Sam Johnson's Boy, p. 97.

² Deason, Oral History I, p. 8.

³ W. R. Brooks to Lyndon Johnson, 4 September, 1935.

⁴ Lyndon Johnson to Hugh H. Bennett, 8 September, 1935.

Washington, supporting the Prarie Vew project.¹ Carson acknowledged Johnson's letter on September 12 and indicated his support to Johnson.² The Prarie View Project was approved.

On September 17, 1935, Carson wrote to LBJ noting the significant number of black youths in Texas. Because of the number of black youths, the Washington office wanted Johnson to appoint a black to the Texas NYA Advisory Board. Thus, they felt the Board would become truly representative. Carson asked Johnson to name an appropriate candidate.³

Johnson responded to Carson five days later in a letter of considerable length. He noted that the issue of a black on the Texas Board had been considered with the Washington office prior to his arrival in Texas; additionally, the National NYA office had approved the present Board on August 30, 1935 and the Board had subsequently met with popular favor in Texas. Johnson further stated that the appointment of a black to the Texas NYA Advisory Board would have three significant results: (1) the nine members of the current Board would immediately resign; (2) Johnson would have to resign as the State Director because his credibility and judgment would be doubted and he would, "in all probability be run out of Texas," and (3) he would lose the cooperation of the black leaders in Texas because they would not have confidence in any black who would let himself be used in a way that would disturb the harmony that existed. The black would feel that an appointment such as this would cost them an opportunity for real advancement for an appointment that was merely sym-

¹Lyndon Johnson to John J. Carson, 8 September, 1935.

²John J. Carson to Lyndon Johnson, 12 September, 1935.

³John J. Carson to Lyndon Johnson, 17 September, 1935.

bolic. Johnson noted that such an appointment would divide the races rather than as a means of bringing all groups harmonious recognition. He further stated that the following things had been accomplished thus far for the blacks by the NYA: (1) A Negro Advisory Board had been established, had met once and had scheduled a second meeting; (2) when the NYA had held its meeting for College Presidents, almost all black schools were represented; the black high schools and colleges had availed themselves of NYA opportunities; (3) a separate meeting to deal with specific issues affecting blacks had followed the NYA conference for College Presidents; (4) a survey was being conducted in order to establish a camp for unemployed Negro women between the ages of 16 and 25; (5) Negro leaders had been consulted whenever there was any question concerning any "problems peculiar to the Negro race," and (6) particular attention has been given to the Student Aid Program, work relief, job training and job placement.¹ (It is interesting to note that the date of this letter--September 22, 1935--was approximately five weeks after the establishment of the NYA in Texas.) On September 26, 1935 Johnson received a reply from Carson stating that he (Carson) had read Johnson's letter and would not seek to have a black appointed to the Texas NYA Advisory Board "at this time."²

Approximately a year and a half later, on March 4, 1936, Johnson sent a letter to Richard R. Brown, the Assistant Executive Director of the NYA outlining projects and activities that had been initiated for the black youths in Texas. These programs included: (1) the establishment of 16 Freshman College Centers for Black Youths (the Freshman College Centers will be explained in the next section of this chapter); (2) the

¹Lyndon Johnson to John J. Carson, 22 September, 1935.

²John J. Carson to Lyndon Johnson, 26 September, 1935.

National Youth Administration College Aid program had serviced 459 Negro students in 13 colleges and on February 26, 1936 a request had been made by Johnson for a 50 per cent increase in the funding for this program, and (3) the Prairie View State Project was approved and functioning at a high level of success. Suggested for funding were the following programs for black youths: (1) a project for students in part-time attendance at Freshmen College Centers; (2) an extension of health, sanitation and domestic science practices for the young through affiliation with the Negro County Agent and the Negro Home Demonstration Agent; (3) employment for black youth in the organization and development of recreational activities for blacks; (4) improvement of the Rollin School through the construction of a Home Economics Building; (5) organization and establishment of recreational activities and indoor recreational centers for black youths; (6) research into black local history, folklore, education and employment needs; (7) a project to provide assistants to the Home Demonstration Agent to improve living conditions among black; (8) a survey of Negro graduates in Houston to determine the relationship between education, delinquency and crime to increase educational facilities for black youth; (9) employment of black youth to establish and improve camps, picnic grounds and playfields for Negro youth, with these facilities becoming part of the City Park System in Fort Worth; (10) a Taylor Public Colored School project to improve health and sanitation practices of black youth; (11) employment of Negro youth to improve recreational facilities in Covington Park and San Antonio.¹

¹ Lyndon Johnson to Richard R. Brown, 4 March, 1936.

Other Educational Projects
in the Texas NYA

Gordon Fulcher, the publisher of the Atlanta Citizens Journal, was working with the Austin American Statesman during the time Johnson was the Texas Director of the NYA. He came to know Johnson and the work he was doing. In his oral history for the Johnson Library, Fulcher noted that while Johnson was Texas Director of NYA, "leaf-raking" type jobs for youth were kept to a minimum. Johnson tried to be sure that project work involved some educational advantage to the individual. Fulcher states that it might not have been traditional education in the form of "book learning," but it was practical education in terms of "learning how to care for themselves and how to work and how to make a living and how to earn money . . ."¹

There were, however, some projects that were specifically designed to aid those students who were seeking to extend the level of their formal education. Among such programs were the Freshmen College Centers and the College Aid Program. It is interesting to note that these educational programs as well as the non-academic Texas Roadside Parks project were fore-runners of two aspects of Johnson's Presidential programs--educational legislation and the Beautification of America.

On October 21, 1935, Johnson prepared a bulletin for NYA District Directors, College Presidents, CCC Camp Advisors, and County and City School Superintendents outlining his plan for Freshman College Centers. That bulletin was later enclosed with a letter from Johnson to Richard Brown. The bulletin defined a Freshman College Center as a local unit

¹Gordon Fulcher, Oral History. Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library, p. 7.

established jointly by the NYA and the Emergency Education Division of the Works Progress Administration for the purpose of offering local youth academic and vocational education as well as job training, guidance, recreational and work experience. The purpose of the center was to give men and women who would not otherwise be able to attend college work of Freshman Year rank. The Freshman Centers operated with the cooperation of and under the jurisdiction of: (1) local Boards of Education; (2) extension division of local colleges; (3) the Emergency Education Division of the Works Progress Administration; (4) the Works Progress Administration of Texas; (5) the NYA and (6) The Texas Relief Commission. In order to be eligible a student had to be from a family certified as a relief client, had to meet the necessary academic requirements for college admission, could not be currently enrolled in a college, and had to be between the ages of 16 and 25.

Teachers for the Freshmen Centers had to have Bachelor Degrees and one year of graduate work (although the graduate work could be waived by the college sponsoring the Center). Teachers also had to qualify under the rules of the Works Progress Administration for Adult teachers. Teachers were not allowed to teach in more than two academic fields, and they had to be approved by the Superintendent of Schools, the sponsoring college, the NYA, the Emergency Education Department of the Works Progress Administration, and the Texas Relief Commission. Teachers were expected to teach 15 hours per week and spend five hours a week on class preparation. They were paid according to the security wage scale. Teachers had to contact the sponsoring colleges concerning their courses and accreditation.

In order to establish a Freshman College Center, there had to be

at least ten students per class. The Superintendent of the local School Board had to conduct a survey to see if there was a demand for the Center, identify a qualified teacher, get the nearest college to sponsor the unit, and file a formal application for the Center with A. A. (Pat) Bullock, the State Director of the Emergency Education Director. This final step of application was handled through the local District Director of the Emergency Education. It is interesting that Johnson and Bullock in this bulletin dated October 21 asked for applications to be filed "on or about October 20." As many centers were established, the concept of the Centers must have been known to those involved prior to the official publication of the bulletin.¹

In a typed memorandum regarding telephone conversations held on October 28, 1935 between Lyndon Johnson, Russell Ellzev (field representative), Richard Brown, and Dr. Alderman that by that date, the Freshman College Centers had received a 100 per cent endorsement from colleges and the press. Also they had between 1,000 and 2,000 students ready to start with 400 teachers available. By the following week it was estimated that 10 to 15 centers could be opened to service 500 to 1,000 students. It was noted that an additional 15 to 20 teachers were needed.

Johnson was attempting to get \$10,000 of a \$28,000 fund that had been earmarked for unemployed women's camps, and which had not been spent, to be used for teachers salaries for the Centers. In that telephone conversation it was noted at \$10,000 could operate fifteen centers for nine months. Also, Johnson felt that it was essential to begin immediately in order for students to complete nine months of work prior to

¹Lyndon B. Johnson to Richard R. Brown, 31 October, 1935.

summer. Johnson further noted that if he could obtain this \$10,000 he would use it to pay adult education teachers who held Master's degrees.¹ In a telegram dated October 31, 1935, Johnson informed Richard Brown that Aubrey Williams, the National Director of the National Youth Administration, had given permission for the \$10,000 to be released, during a telephone conversation with Williams' Administrative Assistant, Miss Wickendon, who was visiting Texas at that time.²

Another program that Johnson worked toward establishing through the NYA was the College Aid Program. On August 8, 1936 Johnson submitted a proposal to Aubrey Williams suggesting four areas in which the current programs could be made more efficient. LBJ wanted to locate CCC "Transfer" Camps at principal college centers so that education would be available to those employed as CCC workers. He also suggested that the 1934 Transient Camp be modified so young men could attend college while doing their required work-relief. Johnson asked that communities be established for young women, so that they could attend college and also do required work-relief; and finally, he sought to establish a new kind of group for young men and women which would "facilitate and expedite" their enrollment in college.³ By October 16, 1937, a letter was sent from Brown to Johnson which contained three, single-spaced, typewritten sheets listing the

¹ Typed telephone conversation notes, 28 October, 1935. Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library, U. S. Government Records, NYA-1935-1938 (Box 8).

(Please note that the placement of documents in boxes at the Library is subject to change.)

² Lyndon Johnson to Richard R. Brown, telegram, 31 October, 1935.

³ Lyndon Johnson to Aubrey Williams, proposal, 8 August, 1935.

colleges in Texas which had been authorized to receive federal funds through the college and graduate aid programs.¹

Johnson's Educational Ideology
Begins to Become Apparent

Chapter VI will deal specifically with the evolution of Johnson's educational ideology. However, his work as the Texas Director of NYA is a significant stage in terms of an analysis of his education ideology. Johnson was always a man of opinion. Johnson was beginning to form definite views concerning education and its importance. It is significant to note, however, that it was during his term of office at NYA that he was, for the first time, in a position to have his views put into practice. The fact that he struggled to make formal education available to large numbers of students indicates that he was committed to the overall importance of formal education. It is also apparent that he felt government intercession to benefit those who would not otherwise have an opportunity to attend school was not only appropriate but rather essential. It is also evident that he did not feel that government benefits should be a "hand out" or "free ride" for students, but rather a benefit which was to be earned through the work of the student. Additionally the stress that he put on higher educational opportunities, given the milieu of the 1930s, is not without significance.

Another aspect of his point of view concerning education and government funding was made known by H. A. Zeigler in an Oral History given to the Johnson Library on July 18, 1978. Zeigler stated that LBJ distinguished the Texas NYA program by his ability to obtain sponsors for projects other than the federal government. Johnson always managed to

¹Richard R. Brown to Lyndon Johnson, 16 October, 1935.

widen the base of support for a project so many people made a philosophical and financial commitment to an idea or plan. Then he made certain that all involved received a great deal of publicity and credit, thus inspiring them to work even harder for the success of the project. By making these ventures a partnership he was always able to increase the support and thus the benefits of the task.¹

Johnson Leaves the NYA

Johnson was so successful as the Texas Director of the NYA that when Aubrey Williams resigned as the National NYA Director, President Roosevelt considered appointment Johnson to that post. However, in February of 1937, Representative James P. Buchanan of the Tenth Congressional District of Texas died. This left his Congressional seat vacant and Johnson decided to run for the U. S. House of Representatives.² On February 28, 1937 Johnson sent a letter of resignation to Aubrey Williams noting that he would leave his post on April 14, 1937 in order to seek public office.³ In a letter to Richard Brown dated March 8, 1937, Johnson enclosed a copy of his letter to Williams and noted his admiration for Brown and the people at NYA. In a handwritten addendum to that letter, he notes his intention to see Brown in Washington whether he wins or loses the campaign.⁴ Thus, Johnson began his career as a Congressman.

During his tenure as the Texas Director of the National Youth

¹ H. A. Zeigler, Oral History. Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library, p. 9.

² Gene Latimer, Oral History. Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library, p. 15.

³ Lyndon Johnson to Aubrey Williams, 28 February, 1937.

⁴ Lyndon Johnson to Richard R. Brown, 8 March, 1937.

Administration, Lyndon Johnson exemplified those qualities of organizational ability and concern for his constituency that would be recognized throughout his political career. His concern for education can certainly be recognized during this phase of his life. His decisions and negotiations as the Texas Director of the NYA demonstrate a belief in the value of education; a belief that education should be available to all who put forth the effort to seek it; a belief that it is necessary for governments to subsidize the educational enterprise; a belief that education must contain practical knowledge as well as theoretical knowledge and the belief that an educated population was necessary for progress to be made.

As a member of the United States House of Representatives, Johnson's views on education and the value of education would become more specific. That period would make a further transition in Johnson's public life--a change from an executive position to the legislative sphere of influence. As Texas Director of the NYA, Johnson could decide on local policy, as a U. S. Representative, he would be able to enact national legislation.

CHAPTER IV

LYNDON JOHNSON AS A MEMBER OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Lyndon Johnson maintained his interest and concern for education during his term of office as a member of the United States House of Representatives. During this period, Johnson continued his support for higher education and government subsidized education. He also exhibited a growing interest for a diversification of educational programs--practical, vocational training for those who did not plan to pursue higher studies and university and professional education for those who wished to pursue advanced degrees.

The U. S. House of Representatives was Johnson's first elected office. Although LBJ had been involved in politics for most of his life, the need to secure votes and to exhibit his responsibility to an electorate meant that his attention had to focus on the broader issues of time. Additionally, the fact that this period was also the time during which the United States was involved in World War II influenced the politics of the day. Finally, Johnson's position as Congressman gave him the opportunity to be active in the "behind the scenes" aspects of local and national party politics. This political milieu was of enormous interest and importance to Lyndon Johnson.

Johnson Decides to Run for Congress

The death of James P. Buchanan on February 23, 1937 meant there would have to be a special election to fill his seat as United States Congressman from the Texas Tenth Congressional District. Lyndon Johnson

was interested in this position from the time he first learned of the Congressman's death and the consequent vacancy. It is not clear whether Johnson first approached State Senator Alvin Wirtz about his (LBJ's) hope to run for office, or whether Wirtz first approached Johnson.¹ (Buchanan's death had left Wirtz in somewhat of a quandary over how to get the necessary money to complete the Lower Colorado projects, which Wirtz and Buchanan were supporting.) It is clear that Wirtz was actively involved in the planning, organizing, and execution of the Johnson Congressional campaign from its earliest stages.

Johnson had to do several things before he could announce his candidacy. The most immediate need was for funds to support his campaign endeavor. Johnson and Lady Bird had \$3,900 in baby bonds. It was decided by Wirtz that an additional \$10,000 was needed to finance the campaign. Lady Bird called her father, Thomas Jefferson Taylor II, to ask for the money as a loan against her inheritance. Her father supplemented the money to Johnson's bonds in Austin the next morning.² In order to seek public office Johnson had to resign from his post as the Texas Director of the National Youth Administration. He did that with with a letter to Aubrey Williams, the National Director of the National Youth Administration, on February 28, 1937.³ Williams was less than delighted to hear of Johnson's

¹Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, p. 86 and Steinberg, Sam Johnson's Boy, p. 105.

Kearns states that Johnson called Wirtz, who at first felt that Johnson should not run because LBJ's chances were so slim; Wirtz finally agreed to Johnson's candidacy. Steinberg maintains that Wirtz insisted that Johnson run for office.

²Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, p. 86.

³Lyndon Johnson to Aubrey Williams, 28 February, 1937.

plans. Believing that Johnson was crucial to the success of the NYA Program in Texas, Williams wanted him to continue in that role. Williams got in touch with a member of the White House Staff, Thomas G. Corcoran, in order to apply some pressure from the White House and the President to prevent Johnson from seeking office. President Roosevelt instructed Corcoran to tell Johnson not to run; however, by the time Corcoran managed to "catch up" with Johnson by phone, LBJ had already announced his candidacy and was vacating his NYA office in Austin.¹

The Johnson Campaign

Among the first to announce his candidacy, Johnson's formal announcement was made from the porch of his father's home in Johnson City, Texas. At that time the Texas Governor James Allred had not decided on the date for the special election. Wirtz had advised Johnson to be the first to announce his candidacy for election so that he could draw maximum press coverage² Johnson's early decision had another effect that he had not counted on--Mrs. Buchanan, the wife of the late Congressman, had intended to run; however, in a speech on March 2, she took herself out of any possible contention for the race, thus preventing Johnson having to contend with a "sympathy vote."³

Wirtz found out from the Governor that the date of the special election would be announced on March 6. Therefore, he advised Johnson to make his first public campaign speech on March 5 in San Marcos, Texas, his old college town where through the assistance of the college president,

¹Steinberg, Sam Johnson's Boy, pp. 106 and 197.

²Ibid., p. 107.

³Ibid; Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, pp. 86 and 87.

Dr. Cecil Evans, LBJ was assured of a supportive crowd.¹

Among the other candidates were: (1) C. M. Avery, who had been Buchanan's campaign manager and secretary, (2) Merton Harris, former Assistant Attorney General, (3) Sam Stone, Williamson County Judge, (4) Ayres K. Ross, the man whom Buchanan had defeated by 22,000 votes, (5) Ed Waller, a man who automatically filed for every election in which he was eligible, (6) State Senator Haughton Brownlee, (7) Polk Shelton, a well-known civic leader, who had the private support of Governor Allred. All of these men were Democrats and finding a campaign issue was not an easy matter. The election was to be held on April 10. Wirtz decided that for Johnson's campaign to succeed he had to use his youth and energy in a "non-stop" fashion, racing through towns and meeting as many voters as possible. Consequently, he was given the nickname "The Blanco Blitz" by the reporters and his aides. The real campaign strategy, however, was to use the Roosevelt Supreme Court Packing as the central campaign issue.

The Supreme Court had made some decisions which hampered FDR's New Deal Legislation. It had abolished the NRA, AAA, the Bituminous Coal Commission and had prevented Roosevelt from firing a Commissioner on the Federal Trade Commission and had invalidated the Frazier-Lemke Farm Mortgage Moratorium. Roosevelt planned to enlarge the court to fifteen members by appointing six new justices who would support his New Deal legislation. Johnson and Wirtz decided that Johnson should distinguish himself as the candidate who was 100 per cent behind the President. In fact, all of the candidates were supporters of the President and Avery, Harris, Stone, Ross, and Waller all supported Roosevelt's Court plan as

¹Steinberg, Sam Johnson's Boy, p. 107.

much as Johnson did. However, Wirtz and Johnson announced that all of Johnson's opponents were against the President's plan. His approach was for Texans to see his opponents as a collective mass and to see him as the President's man and defender. This position was not completely lost on the President and his friends in Washington, nor was it lost on the president's son, Elliott Roosevelt, who was running a Texas radio station, nor on some reporters who viewed the results of the Texas Congressional race as the first test of Roosevelt's support for his Court Proposal.¹

On the last day of his campaign Johnson underwent surgery for appendicitis. It is still not clear whether the timing of LBJ's surgery was a political tactic devised by Claude Wilk, Johnson's official campaign manager or whether it truly was a medical emergency.² In either case it did not hurt his campaign as he won his first election with 27 per cent of the votes cast; twice as much as his closest opponent, Judge Stone.³

Johnson's victory gave him the opportunity to meet with FDR. The President decided to spend ten days fishing in the Gulf of Mexico. He instructed Governor Allred to have Johnson meet him on May 11 when his ship, the Potomac, docked in Galveston. After meeting Johnson, the President apparently took an instant "shine" to the LBJ personality as Johnson was invited to accompany the President to Fort Worth via train.⁴ This special attention was of great benefit to the new congressman as it gave him national recognition as one of the President's "Boys."

¹Ibid., pp. 108-112.

²Luther Jones, Oral History I, p. 20.

³Steinberg, Sam Johnson's Boy, pp. 112-113.

⁴Ibid., pp. 118-119.

Other Campaigns While a United States Representative

Johnson ran for re-election unopposed in 1938. During the 1940 campaign, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Sam Rayburn and House Majority Leader, John McCormack, became convinced that there was a possibility that the Democrats could lose a substantial number of seats to the Republicans. Steinberg notes that LBJ was partially responsible for their concern as he told them he felt part of the problem was that Patrick Drewry, the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, was not providing candidates with the kind of help necessary for the party to carry the election. Rayburn and McCormack went to FDR who in turn decided to let Drewry retain his title, but gave LBJ "total freedom to run the Democratic Congressional Campaign." On election night, November 5, 1940, it became clear that not only did the Republicans fail to "pick up" any congressional seats; but, they had lost five seats previously held.¹

On April 9, 1941, Morris Sheppard, the Senator from Texas died as a result of an introcranial hemmorrhage. The special election that was to follow to determine who would fill sheppard's Senatorial seat can, at best, be termed unique. The Governor of Texas in 1941 was Wilbert Lee (Pappy) O'Daniel, a flour manufacturer, who had formed a "Hillbilly Band" to sell his product. "Pass the biscuits, Pappy"--as he was known in Texas, had used his rustic humor and music to win the 1938 Texas gubernatorial race. When Sheppard died, O'Daniel decided that he wanted to run for the Senate. However, he was afraid that he might lose and forfeit the governor's chair as well. By statute he had to name an interim senator. He announced that he had appointed the son of Sam Houston, Andrew Jackson

¹ Ibid., pp. 152-153.

Houston to fill the vacancy. Houston was eighty-six years old and virtually forgotten by most Texans. He died two days before the special election which was held on June 28, 1941.

There were 29 candidates for that special election. Four of the candidates were politicians--Lyndon Johnson, U. S. Congressman Martin Dies, Texas Attorney General Gerald Mann, and Governor O'Daniel. Among the other contestants were: a plumber, a bootlegger, an admitted kidnapper, a laxative manufacturer, a lawyer, a radio commentator, a Baptist preacher, and Dr. John R. Brinkley who owned a goat gland business and a radio station. Dr. Brinkley had been a candidate for the governorship of Kansas three times and had almost been successful on one "write-in-campaign" for that office.

Lyndon Johnson had immediate and continuous support from the White House during his campaign. Johnson's campaign was again based on his support for the President; and White House officials such as Harold Younge, top aide to Vice-President, Henry Wallace and Joseph Alsop, a columnist who was the grandson of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt's aunt. Both Johnson and O'Daniel gathered a musical "roadshow" to aid in their campaign. Included in a typical Johnson rally was a jazz band, two singers, dancers, a "black face" number, a comedy routine, a patriotic pageant based on "The March of Time," Johnson's speech, and a lottery. Johnson's show far out-did O'Daniel's and he was considered likely to win, even though it was fairly certain that his campaign costs exceeded that allowed by the law.

O'Daniel, for all of his rustic flavor, was a prohibitionist and because of this and his "down home" public image, there were some powerful Texans who disliked him. The early election returns indicated that Johnson would easily win; however, by the time all of the votes were counted

and reported two days later, O'Daniel had beaten Johnson by 1,311 votes. There is little doubt that O'Daniel's enemies stole the election for him so that they could get O'Daniel out of Texas. Although the election was investigated, Johnson and Wirtz did not want to contest the results or push for a serious investigation because of their spending irregularities, and because they knew that in a recount, votes would have just been stolen in some other area. Consequently, Johnson accepted his first defeat for public office.¹

In the 1944 campaign Johnson was opposed by Buck Taylor. Wirtz decided that Johnson should take the public stance of being above a personal campaign and let others talk for him as this was the first time that Johnson had been opposed for a house election since 1937. During the last ten days Taylor's campaign against Johnson became personal and "dirty." However, Johnson still carried 9 out of 10 counties and beat Taylor by a margin of two and one-half votes to one.² In 1946 Johnson became personally involved in the campaign between himself and Hardy Hollers (there was a third contestant, Charles King, a student at the University of Texas). The campaign centered a great deal on Hollers' charge that Johnson had used his office to amass a personal fortune. Johnson avoided being "dragged into this issue" and concentrated on his contribution toward getting federal programs in Texas. Johnson defeated Hollers by a substantial margin and returned to a Congress that now held a Republican majority.³ Johnsons' next election was to be a successful attempt for the United States Senate in 1948.

¹Ibid., pp. 154-182.

²Ibid., pp. 213-215.

³Ibid., pp. 226-228.

Johnson and Educational Projects1937-1948

During Johnson's first years in Congress, much of his time was devoted to projects which involved the harnessing of hydro-electric power to bring electricity to the rural areas of Texas. The single major issue during most of his years as a member of the U. S. House of Representatives was World War II.

Johnson had received a commission as a lieutenant commander in the Naval Reserve on January 21, 1940. Johnson was ordered to duty on January 11, 1941, three days after he voted to declare war against Japan and immediately after voting for a declaration of war against Germany and Italy. His service in active duty was quite brief as by July 1 of 1942, President Roosevelt had ordered all members of Congress home. Johnson was supposed to report for duty in California. However, while enroute to California, he decided to return to Washington and personally ask FDR for a different appointment. Roosevelt sent him to survey military supplies in the area of Australia. One of the planes in which LBJ travelled was damaged by enemy fire and he was awarded a Silver Star by General Douglas MacArthur. During Johnson's absence, Lady Bird ran his office, while his top aid, John Connally was also engaged in active duty as an ensign in the navy.¹

During the war the major thrust of government in terms of education concerns directly involved the war effort. A major emphasis of many educational institutions was to provide training for areas specifically dictated by the needs of the war. Members of Congress were one of the means by which local educational institutions could keep abreast of the

¹Ibid., pp. 189-195.

rapidly increasing government funding for educational projects necessary to meet the War need. Lyndon Johnson, as a member of the U. S. House of Representatives took an active interest in securing federal funds for the educational institutions in Texas

On February 25, 1943 Johnson wrote to T. O. Walton, President of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas in College Station, Texas in response to a letter Walton had written on the 20th of that month. In his reply, Johnson apologized for not having provided much help to Walton's school. LBJ noted that he had been busy trying to secure College Training Programs for Georgetown, San Marcos, and the University of Texas, and he had consequently neglected A. and M.¹

On April 7, 1943 Johnson wrote to Rev. S. F. Lisewski, the President of St. Edward's University in Austin, informing him that the Catholic University of America was going to offer several law scholarships to deserving men and women. Johnson suggested that the names of any likely candidates be forwarded to him.² Lisewski replied on the 19th of April thanking Johnson for his interest and inquiring about the status of the college's application for designation as an Army Training center.³ Lisewski's letter was answered by LBJ's secretary, Mary Rather on April 28 asking that Lisewski send a detailed request to the Adjutant General. It appears that in order to be considered, a school had to have facilities to house, train, and feed a minimum of four hundred men.⁴

¹Lyndon Johnson to T. O. Walton, 25 February, 1943.

²Lyndon Johnson to Rev. S. F. Lisewski, 28 April, 1943.

³Rev. S. F. Lisewski to Lyndon Johnson, 19 April, 1943.

⁴Mary Rather to Rev. S. F. Lisewski, 28 April, 1943.

Baylor University was another school that was negotiating for war contracts to train servicemen. There was a series of correspondence between Lyndon Johnson and James T. Mixson, Assistant to Pat M. Neff, the president of the University. Baylor was being considered by the Army and Navy for use as a training center, and had, in fact been approved when the Navy realized that Baylor had an Army R.O.T.C. program at its Dallas campus (the main campus is at Waco). Consequently, the Navy took Baylor off its list of possible training centers. Baylor (Mixson) did not wish to have the university designated for sole use of the Army and sought Johnson's assistance.¹ Twenty-two days after Mixson had written to LBJ, the congressman replied to him quoting a letter Johnson had received that morning from the Bureau of Naval Affairs stating that Baylor had been awarded a Naval V-12 training program.²

When the House Military Affairs Committee was considering the possibility of discontinuing the Army and Navy Specialized Training Programs, Dr. J.M.R. Score of Southwestern University in Georgetown, Texas, wrote a rationale for the continuance of the training programs which Johnson felt was a good analysis of the situation and which he passed on to Congressman May and the members of the Committee.³

Although there was a great deal of work by Johnson to improve life in rural Texas and to ensure the participation of Texas schools in the benefits to be obtained through War Contracts for Training Programs, Johnson still was an important means of securing the future of America.

¹James T. Mixson to Lyndon Johnson, 1 April, 1943.

²Lyndon Johnson to James T. Mixson, 23 April, 1943.

³Dr. J.M.R. Score to Lyndon Johnson, 27 January, 1944; Lyndon Johnson to Dr. J.M.R. Score, 31 January, 1944.

Johnson on Education

In 1939, After Hitler's invasion of Poland, Lyndon Johnson delivered an important speech concerning education to the Ex-Students Association of Southwest Texas State Teachers College at a banquet in San Antonio, Texas.

The following are excerpts from that speech:

. . . At no time in the history of civilization has a teacher had greater obligations than are incumbent upon him today.

. . . The application of learning to life is something we are just beginning to understand.

. . . In spite of all the culturists may say about it, that education which does not fit the individual to live a successful life in the sphere where he of his very nature belongs can have no other name than failure.

. . . The farm hand forced to become a Latinist not only will be useless as a Latinist but on his way to becoming a public charge and problem because of his inability to take from the soil the things he needs.

. . . There was a time when culture consisted of an intimate knowledge of the classics of the Ancient World and the niceties of court etiquette.

. . . That day has passed.

. . . Americans cannot survive by the favor of some feudal court.

. . . They must stand on their own merits and their own two feet.

. . . With their two hands they must make themselves a place in this world.

. . . Who else but a teacher entrusted with the instruction of the American child during the twelve most important years of his life can exert the necessary influence upon him?

. . . Which is more important to our Central Texas boy or girl--the name of Columbus' three ships and the date he sailed or the fact that 90 per cent of our American people receive 10 per cent of the American income and 10 per cent of our people bank 90 per cent of the income every year?

. . . Is full possession of the abstract principles which lay behind the French Revolution as vital to him as the fact

that under his very feet year by year waters which fall in rain are washing away the soil which is his existence?

. . . Which affects him more--the causes and settlements of the Hundred Years' War or the fact he cannot take his cotton crop into the market and sell it for enough to pay for the bother of growing it?

. . . Which affects him the more--what happened at the Battle of Chalons (Sha lons) or the fact that when he completes his education and is ready to start out for himself in the world there is no job into which he can fit and no farm to which he can go?

. . . Is it more important to him that he remember the formula for some isolated chemical vagary or that in modern society when he must get into it and make his way?

. . . Is it more important to him to know how many million miles it is from one star to another or to be aware that within rifle-shot distance of his own home women work today for 3¢ an hour on 10-hour stretches--yes, on 16-hour stretches 7 days a week.

. . . Which will carry him further--the ability to read Caesar in the original or the knowledge of how to cooperate with his neighbors in a program beneficial to all--. . .

. . . One of the great shortcomings of our modern American educational system is its tendency to lean toward converting all the raw material which comes to its hands into doctors, lawyers, newspapermen, engineers, professors, financiers, bond salesmen, archaeologists, anthropologists, economists, and genealogists.

. . . What John and Mary out of our own communities are interested in knowing is--how can I live? How can I find myself a place--a little niche--in this community so I can be a part of it and live a normal, happy, comfortable, and useful life in it, contributing something to the general welfare as I enjoy and insure my own welfare?

. . . All of us have been through the Alma Mater we honor and revere and we revere it for the fine qualities it has always stimulated in us and the high ideals it has held before us under the wise direction of Dr. C. E. Evans.

. . . I think the greatest tribute we can pay Southwest Texas is to keep squarely in our minds always the principle it has inculcated in us of practical living.

. . . We cannot pay a tribute merely at luncheons like this.

. . . What we say here is hollow unless it sends us out into the fields where we work to do the job it expects of us.¹

It is evident from Johnson's speech that he favored "life adjustment" education rather than mere education in the sense of basic academic skills. For Johnson this meant that vocational and technical training had to be included in the curriculum. It was obviously of concern to Johnson that many young people completed their formal education and were unequipped to deal with the realities of daily living. Johnson favored a more diverse approach to formal education. He seems to consider education for life and the needs of future life experience to be basic for all people. It would be safe to assume that this education would include knowledge of basic skills such as reading, writing, and mathematics, history, and geography at the elementary school level. His inclination for the diversification of educational experience would most probably be felt at the high school level of education.

It would be unfair to assume that Lyndon Johnson was opposed to the preparation of students for professional skills--rather that he opposed the preparation of all students in the classical, academic, educational mode. He appeared to believe that once students were trained to cope with life needs, they should receive the educational training needed to fulfill their talents and vocational goals. That education could follow the traditional academic pattern or it could be strictly vocational, depending upon the students' needs and abilities. Throughout his life, he worked consistently to provide federal funds for higher education, whether through NYA projects or war projects, etc., so one cannot say that he preferred one form of education to another, but simply that he felt education should be more broadly defined.

¹Lyndon Johnson, Speech, San Antonio, Texas, 1 December, 1939.

An impression of Johnson's educational philosophy comes from Robert Montgomery, a professor of Economics at Texas University. Montgomery first met Lyndon Johnson when he was teaching school and Montgomery was giving economics lectures at the start of his academic career. Montgomery felt that Johnson never altered his concept of the educational needs of American Youth. Montgomery felt that all of those who had truly suffered through the Depression had a special understanding of poverty and of what it meant to have a chance to live and survive. Johnson was not an exception. Montgomery saw little difference between what Johnson did as an NYA Director, Congressman, or member of the executive branch of the government. Montgomery's interpretation of Johnson's view was that there were people in need of help and there was a supply of help (funds, programs, government monies, etc.) available and LBJ's desire was to distribute what was there so that most people could derive the greatest benefits.

During Johnson's days as NYA Director, there was little to work with and a great many in need. As time progressed and the country recovered from the Depression, much more could be done.¹ Therefore, Johnson's work for education while a Congressman should not be interpreted as different from what he did as NYA Director nor from what he would do as a member of the United States Senate and Vice-President.

As a member of the United States House of Representatives, Lyndon Johnson exhibited his concern for education by securing government funds for institutions of higher learning. His views on education included a deepening commitment to education as a means of maintaining the quality

¹Robert Montgomery, Oral History, p. 17.

of life within the country and the security of the country. Further one can see evidence of a belief in education to meet the needs of the individual as well as the needs of society. Thus, for Johnson, formal education was meant to include academic as well as vocational training. These concerns would continue during Johnson's service in the United States Senate and as the Vice-President of the United States. His interests during those phases of his career would grow to include the quality of education, the state of the teaching profession and international aspects of education.

CHAPTER V

LYNDON JOHNSON AS U. S. SENATOR AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Johnson's Senatorial Campaign

During his 1948 Senatorial campaign against Coke Stevenson, a former Texas Governor, Lyndon Johnson focused on the theme "Peace, Prosperity, and Progress."¹ He used many prominent Texas legislators to help influence the electorate; he revealed in this campaign some of his views on education. One campaign technique was to prepare a standard mimeographed speech which was distributed to various PTA members who campaigned for him. The speech contained testimonials from several professional educators such as Mary Wildenthal, a teacher from Cotulla, Principal W. J. Moyes of Lamar High School (Houston), and Bob Shalton, the Dean of Men at Stephen A. Austin College. This speech also concentrated on the need to provide better salaries for teachers. The campaign message was that through the efforts of educators, children were able to better themselves and learn to "Love the American Way . . ."²

Johnson made extensive use of radio during the 1948 campaign. In one speech he discussed his view on federal aid to education and the concomitant problem of federal control of education. Johnson stated

¹Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, p. 101.

²Speech. PTA Member 4. 1948 Campaign.

that he believed that schools needed greater support, but that the small taxpayer should not be asked to bear the burden of the increased support for schools. He cited the Senator Taft Bill which would increase the average salary of Texas teachers by \$400 per year. However, LBJ clearly stated that he was opposed to the federal control of education.¹

Johnson won the 1948 election against Stevenson by 87 votes out of the 900,000 votes that had been cast in Texas. Coke Stevenson charged LBJ with "stuffing the ballot boxes." This contested election went to the Supreme Court. Abe Fortas, Johnson's attorney convinced the Court that it did not have a right to intervene in a state election and Johnson became a U. S. Senator from Texas.²

Johnson spent 1953 in a "non political" tour of Texas. During that year he made a great number of speeches and spent a great deal of time meeting as many Texas as possible. Johnson was concerned that Governor Allan Shivers would be his opponent in the Texas primary. However, Shivers decided to run for another term as Governor. Johnson's opponent was a young Texas millionaire, Dudley Dougherty, who was also a state representative. Coke Stevenson managed Dougherty's campaign and they decided to hold a reactionary position because they felt that this would appeal to most voters. (This position was somewhat surprising as Dougherty had been the largest Texas contributor to Adlai Stevenson's campaign in 1952.) During the 1954 campaign, Johnson took the position that he was too busy with business in Washington to be bothered with

¹Radio speech. Paris, Texas. 17 June, 1948, pp. 12 and 13.

²Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, p. 101.

dougherty. He won the election by 875,000 votes to 350,00 votes and was thus assured of regaining his Senate seat.¹

During 1953 Johnson addressed several education groups. In a speech to Baylor University students, Johnson identified his views on several educational issues. He noted that the school was the storehouse of the wisdom of the ages and that the problems of today can be traced to the past--even in terms of prehistoric times. "We can trace current and widespread superstitions back to obscure Babylonian shepherds watching the stars . . . The great contribution of chemistry to our civilization grew from the curiosity of Arabs and alchemists in the Middle Ages." In the same speech LBJ noted that education was no longer only for improvement of the individual, but for the good of society, as individuals are required to make right decisions and interpret information in order for society to advance. Johnson also informed his audience that the absence of knowledge is the abdication of our destinies to another and that the road to freedom is the road of education.²

In a speech before the students of Southwestern University, Johnson pointed out the differences between the Russian system of education, which he felt to be basically elitist and the system of education in the United States, which he felt made educational opportunities available to all those who chose to seek them. He then instructed the students on the importance of listening to others (with a desire to understand rather than hear) as an essential aspect of learning.³

¹Steinberg, Sam Johnson's Boy, pp. 381-386.

²Speech. Baylor University, Waco, Texas. 24 September, 1933.

³Speech. South Western University, (N.L.). 19 November, 1953.

In a 1953 speech before the Texas State Teacher's Association, Johnson foreshadowed much of the interest and legislation that would be evidenced in his later career. He stated that he felt that the crisis in education was the most serious one facing the nation. He noted that the educational crisis permeated the nation and used the following statistics: (1) children were attending school in tents, basements, stores, trailers, garages, and there was one record of school being conducted in a morgue; (2) three out of five classrooms were overcrowded; (3) mechanics were earning \$75.00 per week while teachers averaged \$65.48 per week; (4) Texas had a need for 7,000 to 8,000 teachers per year, but was recruiting far less than half that number; (5) during World War II, 716,000 men (the equivalent of 35 combat divisions) were rejected because they were not sufficiently educated; (6) during the last two years of the war, after all other possibilities of manpower had been drained, the Army was forced to induct 300,000 men who could not read nor write and train them in these elementary skills at an exorbitant cost to the government, and (7) there was a manpower shortage in fields such as engineers, chemists, doctors, nurses, electronics. Johnson informed his audience that the loss of a year's adequate education could never be "made up" either by the child who was insufficiently trained nor by society who relied for its existence on trained citizens. Johnson proposed that the Federal Government had to intervene and come to the aid of education. LBJ felt that this had to be "an all-out drive at every level of our government." He noted that since 1785, 170 federal aid to education laws had been enacted. Johnson clearly stated that none of these laws had led to federal control of education and that he firmly felt that federal aid could be avoided.¹ LBJ was to con-

¹Speech. Texas State Teacher's Association, Dallas, Texas, 27 November, 1953.

tinue his concern for education and educational issues as aspects of his senatorial career rather than as simply interesting issues to be used during a political campaign.

Johnson and Education During His Senate Years

The voting record of a politician is as significant an index of the man's views as his speeches and letters. During Lyndon Johnson's tenure in the Congress, there were several important educational votes. The first was on February 21, 1946 while Johnson was still in the U. S. House of Representatives. He voted against a motion to "kill" the school lunch program. In 1949 there were three Senate votes on federal aid for education. Johnson voted against an amendment to confine federal aid to states that were considered to have an educational level below standard; he also voted against an amendment to restrict federal aid only to public schools. LBJ voted in favor of the federal aid to Education Bill which gave \$300 million annually to states as a means of equalizing education. In 1956, Johnson voted in favor of Hubert Humphrey's amendment to extend the school milk program. LBJ voted in favor of the National Defense Education Act on August 13, 1958. This Act provided \$295 million, from 1959 to 1962, for college and university students who needed loans to complete their education. In February of 1960, Senator Johnson voted in favor of an amendment which would have doubled the amount given for aiding in school construction and would have allowed some of the money to be used for teachers salaries. The voting on this amendment was tied 44 to 44. Vice-President Richard M. Nixon broke the tie, voting against the amendment. The following day, February 4, 1960, the Democrats presented another amendment which gave \$917 million for two years for the purpose of school construction

and teachers salaries. Johnson voted in favor of this amendment.¹

The County Superintendent of the Bowie County (Texas) Education Agency, Ben Fort, wrote to Lyndon Johnson on March 21, 1951 thanking him for supporting Public Law 854. Because this law had passed, the schools had received a maintenance and operation allowance which ". . . meant the difference of them operating just an average school and the operation of an excellent school set-up." Mr. Fort asked LBJ if it were possible for the Bowie schools to be eligible for building assistance.² Johnson responded to the County Superintendent stating that he felt that mobilization for the protection of our nation was his number one job. "However, when and where it is possible, I shall lend my efforts to the educational requirements of this nation, since it should be apparent to all that a breakdown in that direction would be extremely dangerous."³

It is interesting to note Johnson's response to this letter. Much of the Johnson correspondence during the early 1950's reflects the national fear of communistic threats and the furor of (Senator Joseph) McCarthy. Johnson basically felt that McCarthy would have to be dealt with by the Republicans.⁴ He was, however, concerned that McCarthy represented a widespread feeling of fear experienced by many Americans.

¹"Key Votes on Education," typed sheet. Distributed by Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, Austin, Texas.

²Ben Fort to Lyndon Johnson, 21 March, 1951.

What Fort really wanted to know was if more money was going to be put into the building program as the Bowie schools would be ineligible unless the funding was increased.

³Lyndon Johnson to Ben Fort, 21 March, 1951.

⁴Steinberg, Sam Johnson's Boy, p. 362.

Kearns notes that even after the passage of the "McCarthy Era," Johnson feared the rise of a political demagogue who would control the American electorate by persuading them through their fears. Johnson believed the way to counteract this was through bipartisan cooperation in foreign policy.¹ One can see this trend in the correspondence between Lyndon Johnson and Agnes Meyer. In a footnote in his book, The Vantage Point, Johnson credited Mrs. Meyer as the individual responsible for his interest and commitment to federal aid to education.² Agnes Meyer, wife of newspaper executive, Eugene B. Meyer, was a recognized authority on public education and an advocate of federal aid to education. She had been an active proponent for educational aid and she had served on educational committees. Mrs. Meyer and Johnson believed that the only real response to the threat of Russian superiority had to begin with an improved educational system.³ Agnes Meyer was very concerned about the improvement of our educational system and felt that any rapid attempt to desegregate the schools would jeopardize the national interest of maintaining U. S. superiority through the education of U. S. scientists, engineers, etc.⁴ While Johnson obviously supported her stance on the need to improve schools, there is no evidence that he strongly approved the Supreme Court ruling on Segregation.

¹ Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, pp. 142-143.

² Lyndon Baines Johnson, The Vantage Point: Perspectives of the Presidency 1963-1969. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), p. 219.

³ Lyndon Johnson to Agnes Meyer, 19 December, 1957.

⁴ Mrs. Meyer was concerned about the amount of time that would be necessary for black students to "catch up" to the national norm. This was time that would be lost in our educational race with Russia.

Mr. President:

It would seem to me that there are two considerations inherent in the decision handed down by the Supreme Court.

First, the decision is an accomplished fact. However, we may question the judgment of the men who made this ruling, it has been made. It cannot be overruled now, and it is probable that it can never be overruled.

Second, the Supreme Court in its ruling recognized the complexity of the problem. It has delayed the actual degree that will turn a general ruling into a specific order.

In my State, on the basis of the "separate but equal" doctrine, we have made enormous strides over the years in the education of both races. Personally, I think it would have been sounder judgment to allow that progress to continue through the processes of natural evolution. However, there is no point in crying over spilt milk.

We Texans are very proud of our school system. As our Governor has said we have no intention of allowing it to be wrecked.

I have unlimited confidence in the ability of our people to work this matter out within the boundaries of the Supreme Court decision and in a manner that will be satisfactory to both races.

This is the time for wisdom and for sound judgment. Our people will have to spend the period of grace allowed us by the Court in an earnest and sincere effort to find the best solution and the best course.

Education as a Means of Competing with Russia

Johnson's concern over the threat of Russian power was accentuated by Sputnik and the subsequent lack of success by U. S. scientists to match the Russian achievements. During the late 1950's Johnson's feelings were manifested in a series of speeches. On November 29, 1957 in a speech before the Texas Classroom Teachers Association in Dallas, Johnson noted that the United States could "catch up." He felt that "it reveals that we have been beaten at what should be our own game--daring, imaginative use of the facts of science to pioneer new fields." To alleviate the situation Johnson proposed the classroom as the battleground. LBJ felt that the real battle was the struggle to educate the youth of the United

states. He noted that

The Soviet high school graduate has had five years of physics, one year of astronomy, four years of chemistry, five years of biology and ten years of mathematics--right up to trigonometry. In contrast, a recent survey of American high school graduates disclosed that less than a third had a year of chemistry; about one-fourth had a year of physics; and less than a seventh had any advanced mathematics at all.

He further stated that he did not feel that the fault for the current situation was with the teachers but rather arose from the fact that our society stressed certain aspects of life to the detriment of other aspects of life. He proposed that the situation could be remedied by a calm and careful assessment of needs; the improvement of the economic position of U. S. teachers; increasing the number of teachers; a revision of teaching methods in science and mathematics and by giving special attention to the talents and abilities of gifted children.¹

In a speech delivered on December 10, 1957 at the Lyndon B. Johnson Appreciation Dinner in Dallas, Johnson proposed the following to meet the Russian challenge:

. . . the only place in which it can be done is in our schools. At the present time, we do not even have the teachers who can take on the extra burdens of science and engineering. We must improvise from scratch.

But we are still wasting tremendous sources of talent. How many retired doctors, engineers, seamen, pharmacists, laboratory technicians do each of you know in your own community?

How many of them would be capable of teaching a single course in mathematics or chemistry or physics to elementary and high school students? They could do it easily--and eagerly--with a little guidance.

¹Speech to Dallas Classroom Teacher's Association, Dallas, Texas, 29 November, 1957.

One of the finest things that could be done right now would be to set up a foundation in cooperation with the states. The foundation could provide course outlines which would be readily available to local school boards.

With such outlines, the local school boards could find people in communities for limited teaching.

Why can't a seaman teach geometry? Why can't a pharmacist teach high school chemistry? Why can't a laboratory technician teach elementary biology? Why can't a 'war bride' teach a foreign language?

The big question is: Can we afford to ignore such a great source of talent?

We will have no real security until we have won the battle of the classroom. We cannot postpone seeking a solution to that long range problem. We must start right now.

But we must also start right now on the short-range problem--producing the weapons that will buy us time. As we can do that only with the resources that are immediately available.¹

Johnson asked that Americans face certain realities when he addressed the University of Texas Ex-Students Association in Austin on April 1, 1959. He suggested that those realities included an understanding of the "gulf" between a wealthy nation like the United States and the poverty of many other countries. Johnson felt that ignorance resulting from poverty often allowed people to choose a form of government which did not include freedom. He felt that those who chose freedom must make freedom "meaningful in terms of enlightenment and education . . . Free men must not value education less than do those who have designs upon our freedom." The second reality to which Johnson alluded was that in most countries education is the instrument of the central government. Consequently because

¹Speech. Lyndon B. Johnson Appreciation Dinner, Dallas, Texas, 10 December, 1957.

education in the United States is locally controlled we are in the position of our local agencies being in direct competition with the capitals of other nations. Thus, the responsibility of our individual states is enormous. The third reality centered around the value that had to be placed on youth. The challenge, as Johnson saw it, was not matching the young people of the U.S. with the young people in communist nations but rather whether adults "have the energy and the will and the force to match the leadership of communism."¹

At a Rotary Club meeting in Austin on October 27, 1959, Johnson made the following observations concerning education and our society. Johnson felt that in the confrontation between the East and West, brains were more important than military power in determining whether freedom or tyranny would triumph. Consequently, it was incumbent upon the United States to foster an atmosphere which acknowledged the need, value and contributions of intellectuals; thus enabling our society to make maximum use of the abilities of its gifted citizens. Johnson stated that above all we had to be "mindful of education--of the place we give to education in our society and of the respect we show the educated mind."²

Johnson's Senate Bill 2710

On April 24, 1959, Lyndon Johnson sent the following letter to Dr. C. Scott Fletcher, the President of the Fund for Adult Education in White Plains, New York. It provides one with a rather clear and concise view of Johnson's feelings concerning the importance and place of education.

¹ Speech. University of Texas Ex-Students Association, Austin, Texas, 1 April, 1959.

²Speech. Austin Rotary Club, Austin, Texas, 27 October, 1959.

Dear Dr. Fletcher:

Freedom has no real meaning in this world until we give it meaning in terms of enlightenment and education.

That is why I'd like to thank and congratulate the Fund for Adult Education for undertaking a national effort to expand and improve opportunities in education for public responsibility.

Public officials, and especially those dealing with legislation, have to act in so many varied fields, that it would be impossible to be technically well-trained in all of them.

The only alternative I can see is to advocate for those contemplating public service the broadest possible education in the humanities to provide a sound basis for value judgments in any field. Since government today touches practically every phase of human existence, this would seem to be the best course.

The stirrings of the world today are the stirrings of men seeking to rise above the circumstances of their birth and to fulfill the promise of the resources of their native lands as we have done.

The fights we have made against poverty, against illiteracy, against disease, against injustice, against frustration--these are the fights other men now need to make--and they will follow those who provide the strongest leadership.

That is why education is the frontline of today's struggle. It is our most vital area of competition with tyranny. Free men must not value education less than do those who have designs upon their freedom.

Thus, our stake in the success of your great plan is immeasurable, and those who support it will be helping to strengthen the very foundations of freedom.¹

Johnson responded to what he felt to be an educational need in the United States not only with speeches but legislation to assist those seeking an education. In a speech delivered on October 22, 1959, to a meeting of the Port Arthur, Texas Delphian Club, Johnson stated,

¹ Lyndon Johnson to Dr. C. Scott Fletcher, 24 April, 1959.

It would be a mistake to conclude . . . that Soviet education is 'better' than American education. This I seriously doubt . . . nevertheless, they have performed a truly remarkable achievement. When the Bolsheviks took over the Russian government in 1917, less than one-third of the people could read. Today the Russians have a foothold in outer space--a foothold that requires the highest order of technological skill.

This means that they have thought through this matter carefully and cold-bloodedly. They have decided to concentrate on those subjects which they believe will give them a pre-eminence in the oncoming world of space.

I would not condemn American students to similar concentration. I think something of deep and lasting value would be lost if we threw away all of the humanities--the rich culture and art of Western civilization--to make the physical sciences an idol.

But I do believe that our students are capable of much greater efforts and of much more mastery of the physical sciences without sacrificing the values they already have.

We must, however, give greater encouragement to our brighter and abler young people. There are many things which can be done and should be done if we are ever to reverse the solemn--and perhaps grave--statistics that I have cited above.

I believe that it is necessary to establish a student loan program with the loan guaranteed by the government. I have introduced such a bill in the last session of Congress and will press for early action on it in the next session.

This bill is more than financial help. It is an inducement to students to be self-reliant and to stand on their own two feet. It is not a gift which will sap initiative because all they receive is a guaranteed loan--a loan which must be repaid.

I have sufficient faith in the youth of our land to think that they will repay that loan. I have even more faith than that; I believe they will use the opportunity to advance not only their own education but the prospects of our country for building a larger pool of technological skill that will enable us to remain a free nation . . .¹

Among the co-sponsors of Senate Bill 2710 were: Hubert Humphrey, Edmund Muskie, Jacob Javits and Michael Mansfield. The Bill was intro-

¹Speech. Delphinian Club, Port Arthur, Texas, 27 October, 1959.

duced by Johnson on September 14, 1959. Johnson sent copies of the Bill to the presidents of several universities for their consideration and comments. A series of correspondence reveals that the Bill met with a favorable reaction from: Clanton W. Williams, President of the University of Houston;¹ Miller Upton, President of Beloit College in Wisconsin;² Lloyd M. Bertholf, President of Illinois Wesleyan University;³ W. K. Jordan, President of Radcliff;⁴ Sister Margaret Mary, S.S.N.D., President of the College of Notre Dame of Maryland;⁵ Walter H. Juniper, Dean of West Texas State College⁶ and Irvin F. Coyle, Assistant to the President of the University of Missouri.⁷ Harrison Tweed, the Acting President of Sarah Lawrence College in New York endorsed the Bill although, "I have not had an opportunity to examine (it) carefully . . . on the assumption that it requires no oaths by the borrowing students and there is nothing peculiar in its provisions . . ." ⁸

Johnson's work for this phase of education exhibited his concern for America and its cold war struggle with Russia. However, it also evidences a strong belief in education as a major force in a struggle for

¹Clanton W. Williams to Lyndon Johnson, 28 December, 1959.

²Miller Upton to Lyndon Johnson, 31 December, 1959.

³Lloyd M. Bertholf to Lyndon Johnson, 17 December, 1959.

⁴W. K. Jordan to Lyndon Johnson, 2 December, 1959.

⁵Sister Margaret Mary to Lyndon Johnson, 15 December, 1959.

⁶Walter H. Juniper to Lyndon Johnson, 3 November, 1959.

⁷Irvin F. Coyle to Lyndon Johnson, 31 December, 1959.

⁸Harrison Tweed to Lyndon Johnson, 31 December, 1959.

power. It also exhibits Johnson's belief in the need for all people to realize their full potential as individuals and the obligation of the government to subsidize this effort, not only for the good of the individual student, but for the good of the country as a whole.

Another aspect of Johnson's respect for education can be seen in his desire to establish centers of world learning. This proposal demonstrates a somewhat more altruistic and less ethnocentric desire for pure educational advancements.

Johnson and the World Centers of Learning

In a speech before the Women's National Press Club for the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Senator Johnson proposed the establishment of an International University to be located in Hawaii. Johnson wanted the university to serve as a meeting place for intellectuals from the East and West. There, Johnson proposed, scholars representing a diversity of cultural experiences could exchange ideas and come to a greater understanding of the components of each other's cultural backgrounds. LBJ contended that very often the United States had been accused of offering foreign aid as a means of bantering for the friendship of other nations. Johnson maintained that the simple things that would break down the barriers between the United States and those who should be our friends had been neglected by leaders for too many years. He felt that language barriers and other intellectual walls had to be broken down in order to have mutual understanding.¹

Johnson received favorable support for his concept of an International Center of Learning. Dai Ho Chun, the Director of the Inter-

¹Dallas Morning News, 17 April, 1959.

national Cooperation Center located in Honolulu, wrote to Johnson proclaiming his personal delight and the excitement of Hawaii's academic community when Johnson's proposal was announced. The contents of his letter would, however, indicate that a considerable amount of international exchange had been taking place in Hawaii. Chun alludes to the success that had been made in training technicians from many Eastern countries in Hawaii.¹ Support for Johnson's proposal was also offered by Knowles A. Ryerson, Dean of the University of California's College of Agriculture. Knowles, who was also the Senior U. S. Commissioner of the South Pacific Commission, noted that there had long been a need for a research center to deal with the problems of the United States and other people of the Pacific Islands.²

In a broadcast over his radio station in Texas he stated that educational aid to other countries might be one means of curtailing foreign aid. Educational training would be a major means of helping the underdeveloped countries to help themselves. Additionally, Johnson maintained that ignorance was a means by which Communism attacked the beliefs and goals of the free world. Consequently, it was of the utmost importance to use the force of knowledge and erase illiteracy as a means of closing the path of Communist inroads in underdeveloped countries.³

These proposals and views of Lyndon Johnson were evidenced during the 1950's. By the mid-1950's Johnson had hopes of becoming President of the United States. By 1958 and 1959 Johnson was a candidate for that

¹ Dai Ho Chun to Lyndon Johnson, 21 April, 1959.

² Knowles A. Ryerson to Lyndon Johnson, 11 September, 1959.

³ The Bryan Daily Eagle, 9 June, 1959.

office although he never officially announced his candidacy until July 5, 1960, five days prior to the opening of the Democratic National Convention.¹ Johnson was selected by Senator John Kennedy to be his Vice-President of the United States.

Educational Views of the Vice-President

On May 13, 1961, Vice-President Johnson was awarded an Honorary Doctor of Laws degree by the University of the Philippines. Following is a portion of his acceptance speech:

I thank you from the bottom of my heart. No other kindness which you might have shown me would mean quite as much to me as this honor that you have just bestowed upon me. I say that because I recognize the value of education beyond all other values of our civilization. I have seen what it means in my own country when young people have not had adequate opportunity to learn. I have seen ignorance drain on their lives and act as a drag upon the progress of our country. I have seen the consequences of illiteracy and ignorance elsewhere throughout the world in the capitals and the countries that I have visited. You know these consequences precisely because education has opened your mind as it has mine. It is in the soil of ignorance that poverty is planted. It is in the soil of ignorance that disease flourishes. It is in the soil of ignorance that racial and religious strife takes root. It is in the soil of ignorance that communism brings forth the bitter fruit of tyranny.

Education is mankind's only hope. Education is the imperative of a universal and a lasting peace. You know it, we know it, other nations know it. The world in its entirety is beginning to understand. Education is the key that unlocks progress in the struggle against hunger and want and injustice wherever they may exist on the earth. It is the path which now beckons us toward the planets and the stars. Above all else, it is the wellspring of freedom and peace. I hope that you will pardon me if I dwell for just a moment on a significant innovation in a way which seeks to tap that wellspring. I refer to the East-West Cultural Center. I was privileged to introduce that legislation in the Congress which established that great Center. On my way here on this trip, I participated in its moving dedication. Already students from a number of Asian countries, more than a thousand students, including fifteen from the Philippines are applying for scholarships at the East-West Center. More scholarships are planned for the near future, and by 1965, we

¹Steinberg, Sam Johnson's Boy, p. 524.

will have more than two thousand scholarship students in residence there from all the countries of Asia. This is, I hope, the beginning of what may be a great movement throughout the Pacific Area. I look forward to a time when in each of the free lands that are linked by this great Pacific Ocean, there will flourish great cosmopolitan centers of learning and culture. To these centers will come the wise men from all the parts of the West and the wise men from all parts of the East and they will exchange their wisdom. They will pool their genius for the common benefit and for the common progress of all the peoples of the Pacific and the world. In a broad sense, this kind of effort is essential to strengthening of the relations between peoples. It is a demonstration of the capacity of free men to act in a fashion which enhances and vitalizes their individual societies and their cultures. At the same time it bring us into a common understanding, different practices, different traditions, different ideas. Let me underline for you the use of the adjective difference, because the development of understanding, not only calls for the discovery of common ground, but also calls for the discovery of difference. Further, it requires the appreciation and the preservation of differences. This dream of the East-West Center is a dream worth dreaming in a day and a time when we need great dreams. It is also a dream worth protecting by common effort. For that dream, all the dreams of free people every where in this region, in the whole world, are today threatened and are under attack . . .¹

Upon his return from the East the Vice-President addressed the National Committee for Children and Youth in Washington, D.C. His speech in the Philippines and his remarks before this group demonstrate the broad range of Johnson's educational concerns and his belief that education was the means by which society would be able to solve its social problems.

Education is one of the great moving forces of a dynamic Asia.

We have come a long way in education in this country. Asia is at the beginning of the road. Millions are still illiterate in the countries which I visited. But tens of millions have learned to read and write in the last decade. In the next decade or two, the curse of illiteracy should finally be removed in all the free nations of that region. It will take thousands, tens

¹Speech. Manila, Philippines, 13 May, 1961.

of thousands of schools. But they are going up all over Asia. In Taiwan, already 98 per cent of the children are in school. In Viet Nam, the Philippines and elsewhere, the great bulk of the children are learning to read and write. In India, a great effort will be made to conquer this basic problem during the next Five Year plan.

Education is the great hope of Asia. The governments believe in it. Parents embrace it. Children are eager for it. The hope of education is written in the scrubbed and smiling faces of the school children. I saw those faces by the thousands in every city I visited in Asia. I stopped motorcades time and again to get out to take those little boys and girls in my arms. There's a saying in the hills in West Texas where I come from that you can tell what's in a person's heart by looking into his eyes . . .

I come to you, not to talk about how we are going to get tens of millions of children into school to learn the basics--as in Asia--but how we are going to get those who are in schools not to drop out of it before getting enough education and the kind of education that is right for them. That kind of problem would have no meaning in Asia. There, the urge is to get into school and to say in--from grammar school to and through college. The number who go all the way is infinitesimal. There is no time, no margin for those who cannot keep up.

The problem of drop-outs in this context may seem an insignificant matter. It may appear almost frivolous when held against the massive problems of education in Asia. Yet, I can assure you that it is not. It is not, because the needs of our society and the needs of our young people are far different than those which exist in Asia. Education is training one's capacities to be able to live constructively and to contribute constructively to the society in which he lives.

A young person who drops out of school when he shouldn't, is, in effect, just as illiterate in our country as the Asia boy or girl who never gets the opportunity to go to a school in their country. That is because the demands of life here are greater. It is because what it takes to contribute constructively in Viet Name or India is different from what it takes in the United States. A man who can sign his name and read a simple letter stands head and shoulders over tens of millions in India. He can contribute greatly to the progress of that nation at this stage. How much more does it take to put a young man or woman in a comparable position in this country?

So the subject which you are considering in these few hours of deliberation is, to us, as important as the vast problem of illiteracy is to the Asians.

Each of you in your own way has expert knowledge of why children leave school in the United States and what should be done about it. The only expert knowledge I can bring to this discussion arises from the fact that throughout most of my early school years I was always a potential 'drop-out'.

When I found myself teaching school some years later, I had altered my outlook. By that time, I knew that schooling was right and necessary. But I can say in all honesty that there were times when it was hard to tell my students, even then, that a perfect record of attendance was more important than the lazy dreams of a boy on the first warm day in spring.

And when you asked me to meet with you, I must confess that the first question that occurred to me was: why are drop-outs a problem? What's wrong with leaving the kids undeveloped? The answer came quickly enough. The nation and the world, today, are vastly different from the small world which existed a few decades ago in the hills of West Texas.

As an American, I am greatly concerned that one-third of our young people drop out of school before they finish high school.

These statistics would not be alarming if we were still living in the times of Huckleberry Finn. They would have had no meaning in that day.

Nor would they trouble me so much if it was the call of the woods and the rivers which drew our young people away from school as it used to be. The simple truth is that we no longer live in Huckleberry Finn's world. The boy or girl who leaves school today is more likely to be moved not by a sense of adventure but by a sense of despair--despair because of a hopeless home, or because a natural bent doesn't fit into a school's curriculum--or because he or she may not do very well in arithmetic, or history, or English or whatever.

Your conference is convened to find better answers for these young people--millions of them. I cannot supply the answers. But I can, perhaps, suggest to you that the problem is deeper and more complex than the statistics suggest. It is not simply a matter of saying that all children should attend school for the same number of years and study precisely the same subjects. If they do not they are to be classified as drop-outs, and if they do, they are to be regarded as fully educated. Because this problem is not that simple, I would suggest that there is no single solution, no purely professional solution to this problem. As professional people who are close to boys and girls, you know something of the depth of the problem because you meet the individual tragedies of drop-out on a day by day basis. But drop outs are not your problem exclusively. They constitute a problem which must be understood by your community, by your schools, by labor unions,

by Congressmen, by your government. Each of these has a unique contribution to make in finding better answers for our young people at a time when the retreat from school is not to the world of the unexplored woods of an earlier day, not to a homestead in the West, but more likely, to a dingy curbstone in a crowded city and the discontent and aimlessness of those who can find no place in society.

We must look first, to our schools for better answers for these young people. I am encouraged to learn that the schools are beginning to go beyond the 'report card' concept. In some cases at least, I understand that the schools are developing courses which provide special challenge for the young man or woman who will never be a 'straight A' student. The President of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, John W. Gardner, has made a comment along these lines which seems sensible to me. He said, with respect to the responsibility of our schools in this matter:

'Those who have been most sympathetic to the needs of academically less able children have tended to offer only one solution: more schooling. Sometimes more schooling is the answer, but there comes a time when it is not. And the failure to see constructive alternatives is leading us into deeper and deeper absurdities. It is leading too many of our young people into educational paths that gain them nothing except the conviction that they are misfits. The truth is that in the case of the youngster who is not very talented academically, continuance of formal schooling may simply prolong a situation in which he is doomed to failure'.

After the schools, government also has a role in solving this problem. It cannot participate so directly as the schools. Its function is secondary and supplementary. But make no mistake, government can help. It can provide legislation which serves to preserve the integrity of the family when the father is out of work or otherwise falls on hard times. It can be concerned with maintaining a vigorous economy which offers sufficient jobs for all, both for those who are more and less educated. In an even more direct way it can stimulate and support our states and communities in meeting the specific problems of education through grants-in-aid programs.

More and more, the government is making that kind of effort. During this Congress, for example, we have passed Aid to Dependent Children legislation and Temporary Unemployment Compensation Extension and similar measures. It is not hard to see the relationship of these acts to the school drop-out question even though it is indirect. These acts help to keep families together, and you know and I know from the political experience of dealing with tens of thousands of people that anything which helps to keep families together, which gives them hope for tomorrow is going to help to keep the children of those families in school.

This government is moving ahead in other ways which also act to get at this problems of drop-outs and its consequences. We have recently passed the Areas Redevelopment Act. That provides among other things, almost \$5 million for vocational training and retraining of workers in depressed areas. In a similar vein, the Employment Service, under the President's direction is now making a special effort to assist these young people. That kind of activity is bound to give a little help and hope to young people who are out of school and out of work. It will provide them with skills through which they can find work and, through work, their place in the community and nation.

Finally, I call attention to the aid to education legislation which is now being considered by the Congress. We are trying very hard to pass this legislation. The President's heart is in it. My heart is in it. All Americans have a great stake in it because this bill is designed to lift educational standards throughout the nation. If it is passed it will give a tremendous boost to schools and to learning. In doing so, it will help those young people who have trouble with school as well as those who do not. It will also hit in a very specific way at the problems with which you are concerned. A substantial part of the money which this legislation will make available to the states--10 per cent--can be pinpointed to areas having special education needs--to slum neighborhoods in cities, to rural areas with time-battered and inadequate schools, to districts with chronic unemployment. These are precisely the areas in which school drop-outs are likely to be heaviest.

It is clear, then, that by moving forward in education generally we shall also be moving forward in dealing with the particular problem of 'drop-outs'.

That is precisely the point I have been trying to make to you tonight. The problem of school drop-outs is a specialized one but is also part of the general needs of our nation to move forward on every front. Your task is to find out--in specifics--what moves young people to quit school when they should not and what to do about it. Your task is part of the great task of leadership in this nation. That task is not merely to see to it that young people do not drop out of school. We must also see to it that Americans of every age, of every race, color and creed do not drop out of the individual experience of building decent and purposeful lives for themselves. We must see to it that Americans do not drop out of the great common experience of building a strong, vital nation. And we must see to it finally, that this nation does not drop out of the great human experience of building a world of peace.¹

There appears to be an emerging pattern throughout Johnson's pro-

¹Speech. Washington, D.C., 24 May, 1961.

fessional life. As a young man he seems to have felt that education was a necessary and good thing for the individual. He then seems to evidence the belief that all men are entitled to realize their potential by means of education. Even more important was Johnson's growing dedication to the fact that educational opportunity should be made available to the individual by means of governmental assistance and subsidies. As he moved into the Vice-Presidency and Presidency, Johnson seems to be more convinced that education was the major method of alleviating the problems of the world. It was also a major means of providing permanent solutions for the great needs facing mankind.

In a 1961 Commencement address to the graduates of Galludet College in Washington, Johnson stressed the great need to make use of television and other teaching machines in the battle against illiteracy and the pressing problem of insufficient numbers of teachers and schools. He concluded his speech to the graduates with the challenge, "Go into the world and teach. Go into the world and help the people of the earth to learn. That is the most vital, more urgent, most noble service that freedom can be rendered by you now."¹

In a speech at William Jewell College in Liberty Missouri, Johnson clearly stated that he did not want the United States to emulate the Soviet system of education, but rather that American education should be based on American standards. It was also of importance to LBJ that the humanities not be neglected in order to favor the sciences; but rather that both be given appropriate attention for the betterment of the world.²

¹Speech. Washington, D.C., 29 May, 1961.

²Speech. Liberty, Missouri, 9 November, 1961.

It has been noted in the previous chapters and this chapter that Lyndon Johnson had a significant interest and involvement in education throughout his life prior to the time he became President of the United States. In the following chapter, an attempt will be made to analyze his educational views in terms of specific educational philosophies and ideologies.

CHAPTER VI

JOHNSON'S BACKGROUND AND IDEAS AS A PROLOGUE TO THE EDUCATIONAL LEGISLATION OF HIS PRESIDENCY

In the preceding chapters, Lyndon Johnson's writings are public statements on education were examined. Chapter 6 will analyze Johnson's ideology and its educational implications. Additionally, Lyndon Johnson's educational positions will be analyzed to determine if a particular ideological pattern is present. The conclusion of the chapter will deal with educational aspects of The Great Society programs of President Lyndon Johnson. In that matter, we can determine to what extent Johnson attempted to implement his educational ideas into educational programs.

Ideology

Although there are many definitions of ideology, the author will stipulate a definition with which to examine Johnson's educational contributions.

Ideology can be defined as a systematic set of arguments or beliefs used to justify an existing goal or a desired social order. The formation of an ideology involves a particular view of the past, which may be historically valid or invalid. Even when an ideologist has a valid view of the past, inaccuracies may become apparent as a result of exaggeration or the intrusion of myth. As the ideologist examines the past, a pattern of societal development is formulated. This pattern may stress the "high point" of a civilization; a concept that life is improving for a particular group of people; or the concept that the "lot in life" of a group is

not as it should be. Very often the past and present struggles of the group become the focal point of attention in the ideological argument. During the examination of the societal struggle, a heroic figure often emerges. After the analysis of the present, in terms of the past, the ideologist often develops a theory of social change. This change usually involves an activist approach. Consequently, an ideology tends to be programmatic; and the program is often quite doctrinaire. An ideological program contains aspects of how society has moved in the past, but more importantly, it involves the direction in which society should move in the future.

Religion, philosophies and ideologies can all have a prescriptive aspect to them; however, there are also major differences between them. Philosophies are speculative, non-programmatic, concerned with general themes and tend to transcend the limitations of time. They also tend to be general, abstract and systematic. Ideologies are specific, often focusing on political or economic issues; they are also secular, and time bound. Ideological programs may concentrate on methods of changing the behavior of large numbers of people. Those methods can include: persuasion, conversion, conditioning, indoctrination or purging. Consequently, ideologies have the ability to describe the present society, identify the ideal society, and prescribe the remedies needed to create that ideal.

The acceptance of an ideological position aids the individual to understand the world and his place in it. It also provides the individual with values that demonstrate a preferred attitude and behavior which, if faithfully executed, should bring about the desired goal of the ideal society.

There are many ideologies. Three--conservatism, liberalism and socialism--represent models of ideological thought, parts of which

are major components of almost all ideological positions.

Conservatism

Conservatism holds that there is a covenant between the past, present and future. Therefore, it is important for man to have a strong understanding of, and appreciation for, his past. Conservatives support traditional norms of authority such as the church, state and family. Good is seen in those ideas and/or traditions which have stood the test of time. The conservative supports the status quo and seeks as little change in traditional systems or institutions as possible. They see man as having a traditional and essential place within society; thus, they tend to oppose movement or "shifts" away from one's traditional community and the place of one's "roots." Conservatives often place a great deal of importance on traditional institutions such as religion and education. Through these institutions man's tendency toward weakness and sinfulness can be disciplined so that the individual maintains a useful place within his community. Within the conservative position, private property is seen as essential. Complete equality is viewed as a possible degeneration to "mob rule" rather than as an opportunity for any real form of liberty.

There is a strong tradition within the conservative position which involves the concept of stewardship and a sense of paternalistic responsibility to care for those who hold a "lesser place" in society than oneself. Thus, traditional values and standards are seen as the only true measure of man's behavior and of his desires for himself and his society.

The conservative tradition has its origins in England, France and Germany. (However, no matter which one society examines, there tends to be a human tendency for those in power to try to maintain the status quo.) Examples of those holding a historical position of conservatism are:

Benjamin Disraeli, Thomas Carlyle, Count Joseph de Maistre, Constantine Pobiedonastsey and Pope Pius IX. The conservative tradition can also be seen in American societal and political thought. In education, the conservative position is closely associated with the educational philosophies of Perennialism and Essentialism. For the conservative, the educational institution plays a most significant role.

The school or educational system is seen by the conservative as the most significant means by which the accumulated wisdom of the past is transmitted to the young. Therefore, the school should resist change and stress positive values. The goal of the school is to appraise and transmit the cultural heritage of the society; to stabilize the society and the individual within that society; to be a depository of the best within society, and to provide the individual with intellectual and moral discipline. The curriculum of the school is considered to be an ordered series of subject matter and skills. At the elementary level that involves instruction in basic skills; at the secondary level it involves a departmental introduction to subject matter; and at the college level, instruction and analysis of subject matter. The teacher is viewed as an authority figure, modeling acceptable social behavior and, as the individual responsible for the transmission of the society's cultural heritage to the young. Modern educational leaders who are considered to hold a conservative point of view would include: James B. Conant, Arthur Bestor and Robert M. Hutchins. This point of view differs significantly from the liberal view of society and its perceptions of education and the role of education within that society.

Liberalism

Liberals view the individual as being basically good and the evil of society as coming from the environment in which the individual finds himself. They also feel that the human mind can reason the solutions of society's problems. Consequently, they see progress as a continuous process within society. There is a general openness to change and a view that change is good. Liberals stress the importance of the individual in society and the need for majority rule as well as for representative institutions. Liberals also place a great deal of importance on freedom of the press, speech, assembly and religion.

There was a basic split within liberal ideology, resulting in two liberal traditions--that of the Classical Liberal and that of the Humanistic Liberal. Classical Liberalism had its roots in England, in the early 1800's. Classical Liberals, such as Thomas Robert Malthus and David Ricardo held that there was a natural law of economics and that laissez-faire capitalism was essential for the society to grow and develop. They felt that private property was essential and that non-governmental interference was of major importance for the maximum growth of profits and the progress of society.

A second phase in the development of Classical Liberalism was the Utilitarianism of Jeremy Bentham. This viewpoint was concerned with obtaining the "greatest good for the greatest number." Consequently, its approach was somewhat more humane, stressing a more gradual and piecemeal method of social change, through legislation.

The third stage in the development of Classical Liberalism was its revitalization in the form of Social Darwinism. This stressed highly competitive individualism and the naturalistic ethic of the survival of the fittest.

A second major aspect of liberal thought was the Humanistic Liberalism which had its earliest roots in French philosophic thought. This view sees individual rights guaranteed by the society through legislation prescribed by a representative government. Thus, society extends freedom to the individual, and that freedom becomes an instrument of self-development for each person. The well-being of the individual, when considered collectively, is a measure of the well-being of the society. Progress is considered within a social context, as opposed to an individual concept of progress. These liberals believed that a society of illiterates could not progress, therefore education should be compulsory. They also felt that true equality is the equality of opportunity rather than equality of ability or status. Therefore, unless one is given the opportunity to be literate and to acquire basic skills, the individual is handicapped and has not had equality of opportunity. Although humanitarian liberals recognize the right to private property, provided it does not threaten human rights or deny self-development, they consider the society's guarantee of health, welfare and education to the individual, to be of prime importance.

In the United States, the liberal traditions were manifested in the educational philosophies of progressivism and John Dewey's Experimental Pragmatism. The Progressive Movement in American education supported free, compulsory education. They looked upon education as a means of popular enlightenment. They supported a child-centered curriculum which was diversified, and a school atmosphere of cooperation, as opposed to a competitive atmosphere. They considered the school to be an embryonic society and a place in which political and social reforms could be generated through a democratic process. Dewey's views included the concept

that education was a process of progressive, sequenced activities with growth as its ultimate goal.¹

Socialism

Socialists would agree on the basic principle that there should be joint ownership of property, and of the wealth of society, in order to provide for and maintain the common good of the group. One can identify three major forms of Socialism--Utopian Socialism, Scientific Socialism and Democratic Socialism. Utopian Socialists identify their view of an ideal society and often try to create that society through a "commune experience." They feel others will be attracted to their "perfect society," thus creating a "snowball effect" which will eventually transform society as a whole. Scientific Socialism attempts to reform society through class mobilization and warfare. Democratic Socialists attempt to bring about socialistic reforms through the legislative process. This form of socialism is primarily concerned with an equal distribution of the essentials for human life and the equality of life-maintaining services. Examples of Democratic Socialism's programs are socialized medicine, care and programs for the aged and educational opportunities for the young. This form of socialism is not opposed to individual wealth provided that all citizens enjoy an acceptable standard of living.²

It would be extremely comfortable and systematic if one could provide the reader with a summary of the educational implications of each form of socialism. However, the educational views of socialists tend to

¹John Dewey, Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education. (New York: The Free Press, 1966).

²Information derived from class notes. Ideologies in Education, Dr. Gerald Gutek. Loyola University of Chicago, September-December, 1977.

be extremely specific and directly related to their particular view of "The Ideal Society." Therefore, while it would be possible to present an analysis of the implications of George Count's Cultural Reconstruction or the Deschooling views of John Holt or Ivan Illich, none of these, nor any combination of them, could adequately be considered "The Socialistic View of Education." The view of Socialists toward education is as varied as the existant socialistic groups which they represent. Very often these view points are in diametric opposition to each other.¹

All ideologists view education as important. Education is one of the major means by which society can either be maintained in its "ideal state" or transformed into its "ideal state."

Every ideology is concerned with using the educational system as a direct support for the ideology. All of the ideologies believe that the educational system is the most potent force of socialization within the social system and believe that the educational system must be used to support the values of the society on the ideology.²

Because an individual's ideological position shapes his view of society, his view of an ideal society, and the method by which the former can be transformed into the latter, it is important to identify the educational ideological positions of Lyndon Baines Johnson.

The Educational Ideology of Lyndon Baines Johnson

Unless an individual is the "Founding Father" of a particular theory or philosophical perspective, it is highly unlikely that his views are purely reflective of a single position which can be neatly compart-

¹George Sylvester Counts, Does the School Build a New Social Order? (New York: Arno Press, 1969); John Caldwell Holt, The Under-achieving School. (New York: Pitman Publishing Corporation, 1969); Ivan Illich, What Do I Do Monday? (New York: Dutton, 1970).

²Lyman T. Sargent, Contemporary Political Ideologies. (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1981), p. 191.

mentalized as an example of an ideal type. In general, when formulating his philosophy, man tends to be somewhat eclectic and chooses those aspects of a particular body of knowledge which are in keeping with his own values and experiences. In this regard Lyndon Johnson is certainly no exception to the rule.

In reviewing the statements and actions of Johnson one can certainly find evidence that in some respects Johnson adhered to a conservative ideological position. LBJ certainly had a high regard for the traditional place and importance of the state and of the educational institution within our society. While he did not share the Conservative's desire to maintain the status quo in most areas, there is little doubt that he would wish the government and school system to remain strong, viable forces within our society and that he would certainly not wish to see any movement toward alternative education nor toward any governmental model other than that which currently exists. Additionally, it is also clearly evident that he viewed education as a means of maintaining the American form of government by using the school as a means of educating individuals to fulfill their roles as citizens. Johnson shared with the Conservative's a view that education was definitely a means of presenting youth with the accumulated wisdom of the past. Further, he would agree that an understanding of the past was a significant and necessary aspect of a student's education. He would differ from the Conservative perspective in terms of the acceptance of the past as the model for the present and the future. Johnson certainly accepted "change" as a reasonable and necessary aspect of life. His contention appears to be that change must be wisely planned for to meet the needs of and to solve the problems of man in our current society. Johnson seems to believe that in that manner society

would be able to ensure an enriched future.

Johnson accepted the conservative point of view on the role and position of the teacher. This is particularly evidenced during his tenure at the Welhausen School in Cotulla, Texas. It is also evident that Johnson adhered to some degree of paternalism during that period of his life; this is seen in his treatment of the students and their parents as demonstrated in Chapter 2.

Johnson's leanings toward a humanistic liberal educational ideology are most apparent. He firmly believed that education could be used in a way that would allow man to solve society's problems. He also believed in government intervention to ensure equal educational opportunities for all people. Johnson believed progress to be of major importance, and to a great extent he equated group progress and well-being as an indication of the well-being and progress of society. Specifically, in terms of education, LBJ was neither afraid to try new methods nor to alter a curriculum in order to meet the needs of the time.

Johnson's emphasis on the importance of education, the need for equality of educational opportunity, and his concern for using education both for the progress and protection of American society led him to influence the enactment of major educational legislation when he was President of the United States.

When Lyndon Johnson assumed the Presidency, there was a crisis in the American educational system. Johnson saw the crisis in terms of overcrowded classrooms, underpaid and undermanned teaching staff, and a declining quality of instruction. The effects of those conditions were particularly devastating in large metropolitan school districts where both evidence of widespread student incompetency in the basic skills and

a high drop out rate were found. (Sixty per cent who reached tenth grade did not finish high school.)

President John Kennedy had tried to initiate legislation that would give federal aid to public schools. However, Kennedy's plans had been defeated by a coalition of Catholic congressmen who felt that the legislative package should also provide aid to Catholic or parochial schools, a conservative who believed that federal aid to public schools was an encroachment of the federal government into local spheres of influence. Many believed that the defeat of this measure demonstrated evidence of a Congressional and governmental crisis in which the Congress could not act in a governmental crisis concerning a matter of critical national importance.

Johnson felt that as President he had three alternatives open to him: (1) he could ignore the problem; (2) he could present school legislation and run the risk of re-activating the problems encountered by President Kennedy and, (3) he could "attempt to blunt the controversy and obtain legislation simultaneously." The President chose the third alternative, but realized that in order to get his educational legislation through Congress he would need a method of overcoming the opposition from church groups as well as from those who did not want federal interference with educational issues. The formula $\frac{A}{2} \times B = P$ was devised, in which A represented the state's average expenditure per pupil, B equaled the number of poor children in a district and P was the payment to the district. This plan enabled the federal government to aid the individual school district through a direct grant to the state. As a companion to this concept, there was a movement to provide private schools (as well as public schools) with mobile educational equipment, educational television

and shared time. Community wide services would also be available to all school children (public and private) in such areas as music, foreign language, science laboratories, art, and programs for the physically and mentally handicapped.

The President was able to secure backing for his proposal from Adam Clayton Powell, Judge Howard W. Smith of Virginia, the Catholic hierarchy (except Bishop McIntyre) and the Vatican Apostolic Delegate to the United States, Archbishop Edizio Vagnocci. Many of these individuals had previously opposed this type of legislation; however, this time they backed the plan (although Powell held the bill "hostage" for desired staff funds).¹

When one considers the Great Society Program in terms of education two facts emerge: (1) Johnson believed that educational opportunity must be made available to all citizens and (2) Johnson seems to have felt that education was a major means of aiding, if not curing many of the serious problems which existed within American society. During President Johnson's Administration sixty education bills were passed.² (See Appendix)

Consequently there can be no mistake that education was a prime thrust of his administration and Great Society. Johnson made several major addresses to Congress dealing specifically with education, but all of his Congressional messages are profusely punctuated with the theme of education. In his 1965 address concerning the educational needs of the United States, Johnson asserted, "In the life of the individual, education is always an unfinished task. And in the life of this nation, the advancement of

¹Johnson, The Vantage Point, pp. 206-219.

²In a footnote on p. 219 of The Vantage Point, the President credits Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer as the individual responsible for his interest and commitment to federal aid to education. He characterizes her as an old friend; however, she is not mentioned in any of his biographies.

education is a continuing challenge."¹

Congressional Message of January 12, 1965

Johnson's first message on education was delivered on January 12, 1965. He noted that he had already signed educational legislation providing facilities for colleges, universities, and community colleges, as well as vocational training resources, funds for student loans and fellowships, and measures to aid in the training of nurses, physicians and dentists. He proceeded to outline his major concerns and goals for the future. Four major goals were enumerated: (1) to provide better education to disadvantaged youth, (2) to provide all students with the best educational equipment, ideas and innovations, (3) to advance the technology of teaching and training of teachers," and (4) "to provide incentives for those who wish to learn at every stage along the road to learning."

In order to fulfill these goals the President proposed several major programs. A pre-school plan for disadvantaged youngsters was put forth in the form of Head Start (\$150 million), as well as providing aid to elementary and secondary schools (\$1 billion). (See Plates 21, 22, 23) This assistance was to be given in several forms. The President wanted federal funds to be applied to low-income districts. He also proposed federal funding for the purchase of school library books to be made available to children in all schools, public and private. Mr. Johnson asked that supplementary educational centers and services be provided. These centers were to offer special courses in music, art, science, and literature. Additionally, the centers were to develop programs for the mentally and physically handicapped, as well as summer and after school programs. They were also to make available common facilities such as auditoriums, laboratories, and libraries, aid in the introduction of innovative tech-

niques into the school and, provide for extra-curricular educational resources, such as concerts, lectures, etc. The President asked for Regional Education Laboratories to advance research development and implementation for teacher training. Under this program training was also to be given to research personnel and funds were to be provided for the purchase of research equipment. Finally, the elementary and secondary schools were to be assisted through direct grants to State Educational Agencies which would enable the state to assist individual districts with long range planning, research, improving information concerning education, providing for the training of personnel and evaluation of programs and teacher improvement courses.

For high education, the President, in his 1966 budget, had proposed federal aid in the amount of \$179 million for the construction of facilities, \$25 million for graduate fellowships to aid in overcoming teacher shortages at the college level and \$110 million for university research, science fellowships and science education. He suggested that more needed to be done in terms of enriching campus library resources, extending the opportunity for a college education to the children of the poor and middle income families in the United States, and in drawing on university resources in order to deal with "problems of poverty and community development." Specifically for students, the President wanted the federal government to provide scholarships, work-study opportunities, and low interest loans. Small colleges were to be encouraged to promote faculty exchange programs, as well as enrichment and development in areas of faculty expertise. The federal government planned additional aid for these small schools through a National Fellowship program whereby graduates and instructors from large universities would assist the small colleges as

resources to them, especially in terms of teaching and by developing joint programs for better use of available facilities and faculty. Further, Mr. Johnson proposed that college and university libraries receive federal funding. The government was also to fund university extension when that extension benefited the local community through university concentration on local problems. Additionally, federal funds were to be set aside for the training of librarians for schools, universities and community libraries, and for the training of teachers for handicapped children.

Congressional Message of February 28, 1967

In his Congressional message on education and health of 1967, the President noted that the total expenditures for education in his budget would be \$11 billion, "an increase of one billion or 10 per cent over 1967 and \$7 billion or 175 per cent, over 1963." Besides strengthening those programs which were already in existence, Mr. Johnson proposed the adoption of the Education Professions Act of 1967 which would unify the federal commitment to assist in the training of teachers, teachers aides, school administrators and educational workers. The President noted the importance of this measure because "Our work to enrich education finds its focus in a single person: The classroom teacher, who inspires each student to achieve his best."

At this time the President also suggested the Head Start--Follow Through Program and the expansion of Teacher Corps to aid poverty areas. He also asserted the need for greater assistance to children with special education needs. He hoped to achieve this through regional resource centers where these "special" children might be diagnosed as handicapped

¹Ibid., pp. 14-17.

at an early point in their educational careers; and, through an increase in the number of special education teachers and an increase in the amount of available educational material designed for their special needs be helped to more fully develop their potential. Specific legislation was to be enacted to meet all of these special educational needs.

Mr. Johnson felt that an end to educational discrimination was of great importance. In asking for the passage of the Voting Rights Bill on March 15, 1965, he recalled his former Mexican-American pupils in Texas:

Somehow you never forget what poverty and hatred can do when you see its scars on the hopeful face of a young child. I never thought then, in 1928, that I would be standing here in 1965. It never occurred to me in my fondest dreams that I might have the chance to help the sons and daughters of those students and to help people like them all over this country. But now I do have that chance--and I'll let you in on a secret--I mean to use it.¹

In educational terms he would use that chance by requesting 30 million dollars to provide state and local government with resources by which they might confront the problems of school desegregation.

The President was also concerned with the need to develop vocational education programs. He stated that it was necessary to provide students with work experience as part of their learning experience. Of importance, too, was a student's need for career counseling. To aid in this, work study programs were to be made available to high school and college students.

Mr. Johnson also requested additional funds to augment the work being done through the Adult Education Act. These monies were to be used to train volunteers who would work in programs designed to combat adult

¹James MacGregor Burns, To Heal and To Build: The Programs of President Lyndon B. Johnson. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968), p. 15. (This book contains quotations from Lyndon Johnson.)

illiteracy. There were also to be educational programs which would direct their attention toward the extension of the boundaries in the formal classroom.

Finally, the President addressed himself to other aspects of education. He proposed the Public Television Act of 1967, which would provide 10.5 million dollars for the construction of radio and television facilities and 9 million dollars as an initial fund for the new Corporation for Public Television, which had as its goal support for noncommercial television and radio. Additionally, the President asked the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to conduct studies to determine how instructional television could be used in classrooms. He also directed the National Science Foundation to devise ways in which computers could be used for educational purposes. He directed the National Endowment for the Humanities, through a 16 million dollar fund, to continue support for "new historical studies, to encourage creative teaching in our colleges, and to offer outstanding young scholars opportunities for advancement."¹

Congressional Message of February 5, 1968

In general this message emphasized an increase in the amount of funding for programs which already existed such as Upward Bound, Head Start, and Teacher Corps. However, some new programs were proposed by President Johnson at this time.

The Partnership for Learning and Earning Act of 1968 had as its goal experimental liaison programs between employers and schools in addition to combined summer programs which would provide the student with class work and "on the job experience." The program also allowed for federal

¹Johnson, No Retreat From Tomorrow, pp. 163-169.

matching grants for states to be used for vocational education; provisions were also made to reduce "paperwork" for those schools that subscribed to this program.

In respect to higher education, the President proposed the Networks for Knowledge Act. This act had as its intent the pooling of university (and/or college) resources in terms of faculty, equipment, facilities, resources, educational television and computers. For graduate education, the President wanted increases in funding to graduate schools, programs to "strengthen graduate programs with potential for higher quality," and federal funding of university research. Johnson's long term strategy for higher education involved: (1) the elimination of factors such as wealth or race in terms of higher educational opportunities; (2) the maintenance of public and private educational institutions' independence; (3) ensuring that private industries and the states bear their share in subsidizing higher education; (4) ensuring effective use of higher education facilities; (5) support for students and institutions , and (6) to continue to promote quality in higher education.

The President had asserted in the beginning of this message "I believe that our time--the mid 1960's--will be remembered as the time of unprecedented achievement in American education." At the close of his remarks he note:

On January 6, 1941, President Franklin Roosevelt set forth to Congress and the people four essential freedom's for which Americans stand.

In the year since then, those four freedoms--freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear--have stood as a summary of our aspirations for the American people and the world. And Americans have always stood ready to pay the cost in energy and treasury which are needed to make those goals a reality. Today--wealthier, more powerful, and more able than ever before in history--our

nation can declare another essential human freedom. The fifth freedom is the freedom from ignorance . . .¹

Thus, during his presidency, Lyndon Baines Johnson continued his interest in education. Further, he attempted through legislation to create a change in the educational patterns of the United States. For Johnson this change was the intervention of the government to provide education for those who sought it, to improve educational facilities where they were inadequate and to utilize education as a means of improving the quality of life for the people of our society.

¹Burns, To Heal and To Build, pp. 404-414.

PLATE 21

LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON AND FORMER GRADE SCHOOL TEACHER AT
THE SIGNING OF AN EDUCATIONAL BILL, APRIL 15, 1965

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library



PLATE 22

LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON AND FORMER GRADE SCHOOL TEACHER AT

THE SIGNING OF AN EDUCATIONAL BILL, APRIL 15, 1965

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library

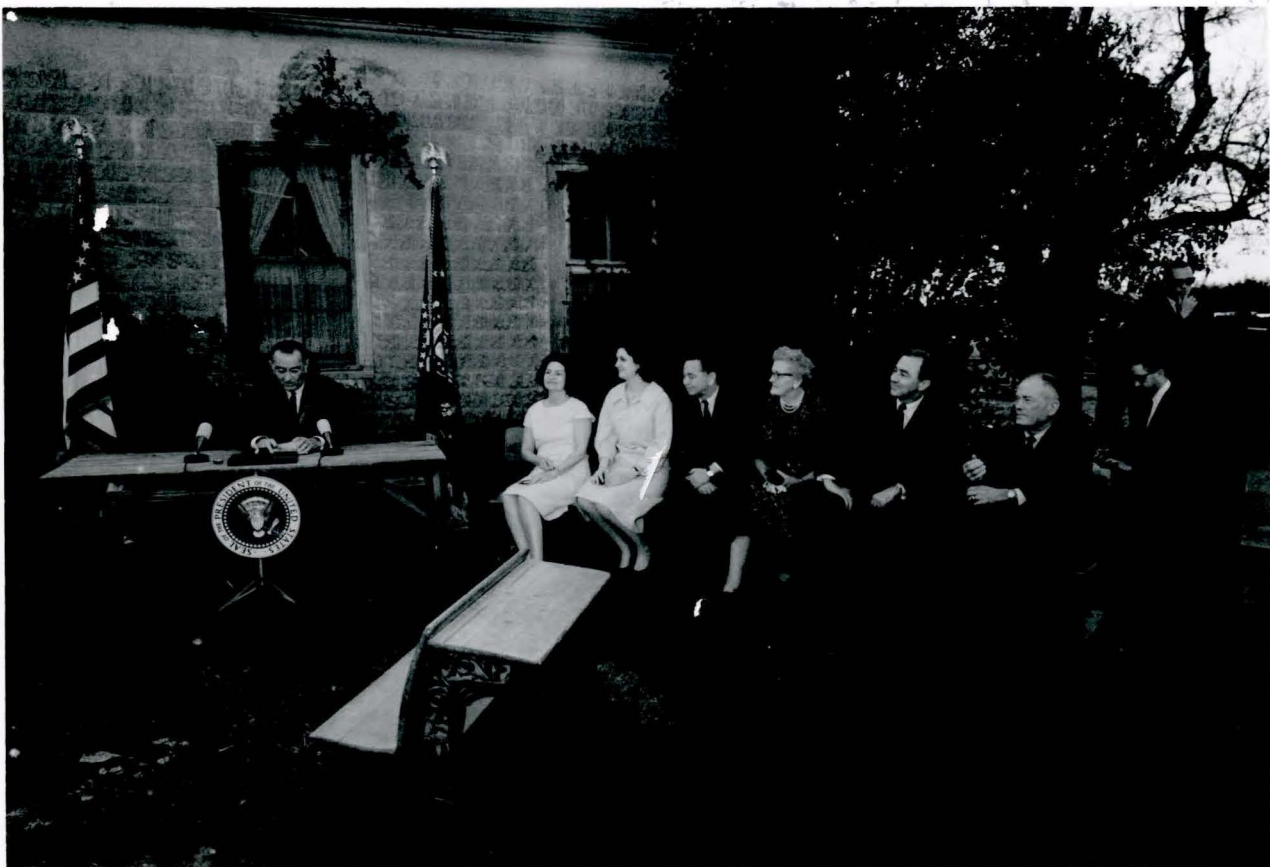


PLATE 23

LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON AND FORMER GRADE SCHOOL TEACHER AT
THE SIGNING OF AN EDUCATIONAL BILL, APRIL 15, 1965

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library

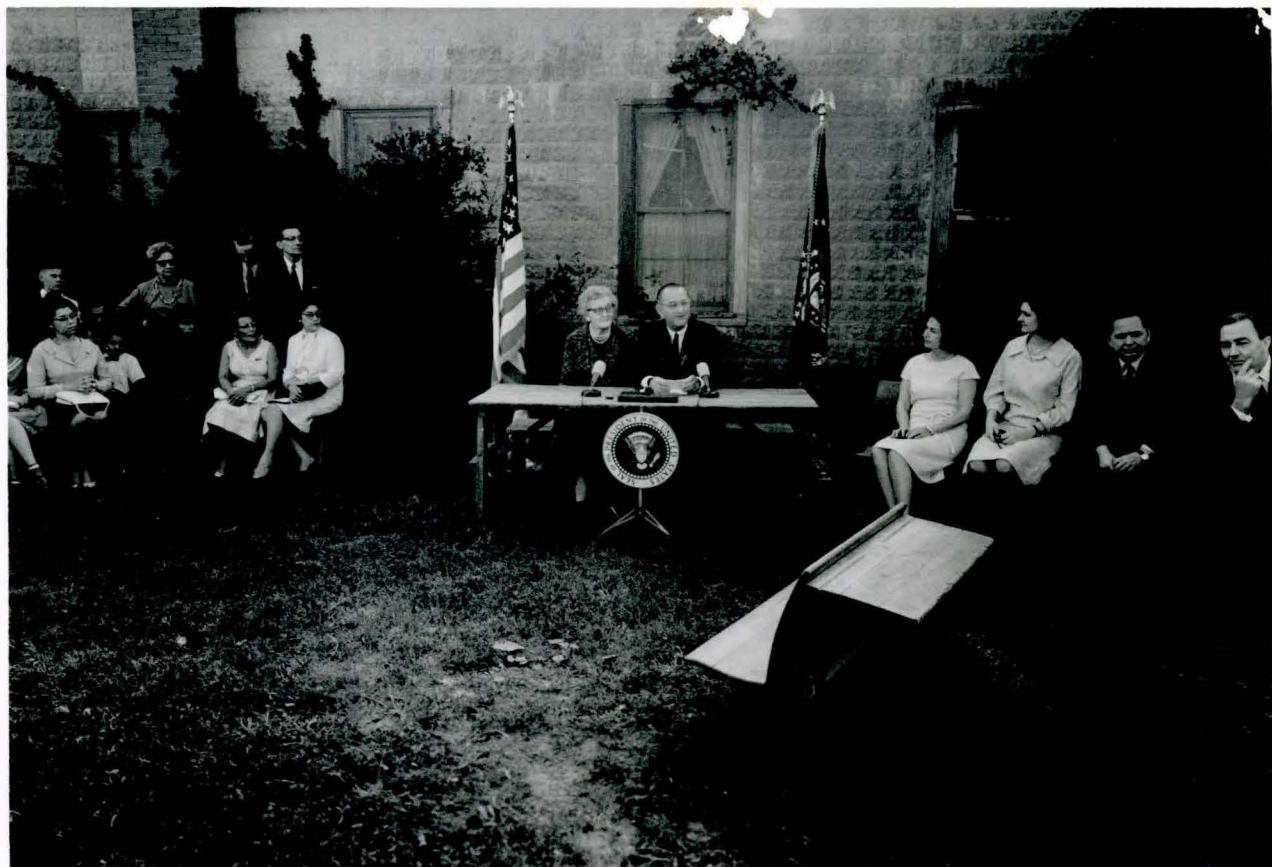


PLATE 24

LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON AND FORMER GRADE SCHOOL TEACHER AT

THE SIGNING OF AN EDUCATIONAL BILL, APRIL 15, 1965

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library



CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Lyndon Baines Johnson was a man who, because of his background, training and career, had the unique opportunity not only to think critically about education and its role in American Society, but to Effectively alter the course of education within the United States. Johnson was a trained professional educator, who throughout his political career, was not only actively interested in education, but who repeatedly used that interest to affect policy.

As a student Johnson exhibited a belief that education was a value to be sought. He further believed that education should be made available to all. Once given the opportunity to have an education LBJ felt that it was incumbent upon the student to make the best possible use of this opportunity, which had been presented to the individual. During his tenure as a professional educator Lyndon Johnson demonstrated a belief in student competition, a strong disciplinary code, and the use of education as a mode of social mobility.

When LBJ became the Texas Director of the National Youth Administration, he showed a practical approach toward the fulfillment of his educational beliefs. When faced with the dilemma of choosing between providing educational opportunities to students of all races or an official integrated Board of Advisors to placate the interests of the National Office of NYA, he opted for greater educational opportunities. Johnson believed that more genuine equality of opportunity was more important than the appearance of an integrated advisory board. He also

strongly supported the blending of practical, vocational education with the academic and theoretical aspects of education. Johnson strongly supported federal subsidies for educational programs and institutions. LBJ exhibited a belief in and interest to encourage higher educational studies for able students. He also supported increased opportunities for minority groups as well as research into the history of minorities within American society. Johnson also was interested in and committed to promoting health education and the use of education to enhance the leisure activities of youth.

As a member of the United States House of Representatives, Johnson maintained his interest in education. However, because of the Second World War and the problems concomitant with the United States' involvement in that war, Johnson's concern with education was not as evident during this phase of his life as it had been during other periods. His educational concerns during this time included obtaining federal funds for Texas institutions involved in educational projects necessary for a society at war. During this period, LBJ continued to value education as a means of providing vocational training as well as academic and theoretical expertise. Additionally, Johnson began to see education as a means of providing for our national security and our social welfare. This aspect of his educational orientation was to deepen and become increasingly important during the subsequent phases of Johnson's life.

As a member of the United States Senate and as Vice-President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson continued to be interested in and committed to education, but one can sense a shift in the thrust of that interest and concern. During the earlier years of his life Johnson was aware of the value of and need for education in the life of the indi-

vidual. Thus, he favored the availability of education for all who sought it. Although, this aspect of education was still important to Johnson during the later phases of his life, of even greater critical importance was the value of education and of an educated population to society as a whole. Johnson began to see the need for an educated people as a means of coping with and alleviating the problems of American society. He further transferred this aspect of his educational belief to the international scene. Nationally, he supported increased teacher salaries, federally subsidized education (while maintaining local control), and he stressed the importance of educating the population to maintain our national security. Johnson favored the utilization of all talented citizens for the maintenance and improvement of an educational system. He further warned that one aspect of education (science) should not be advanced at the price of "cutting" other aspects of education (such as the humanities). Johnson also proposed that students be given loans to complete their education.

During this time, LBJ also began to be aware of the need for upgrading educational opportunities of people throughout the world. This would permit individual advancement and well-being. However, of equal importance, Johnson believed increased education would contribute to the gradual end of intrusion of communism in underdeveloped countries. Further, it would permit people to concentrate on the major problems affecting international communities. Johnson proposed establishing World Centers of Learning where scholars first would meet and establish a level of trust, then develop respect for other cultures, and finally discuss and work toward the solution of man's problems.

Ideology includes a view of the past and a program for the present which will insure a model society of the future. Conservativism, Liberal-

ism and Socialism represent three major ideological patterns. Lyndon Johnson's ideological views contained some aspects of conservatism and many aspects of humanitarian liberalism. When Johnson became the President of the United States, he was able to take the educational views which he had developed throughout his life and convert them from ideas to national programs and legislation for the improvement of education in the United States.

The ideology of Lyndon Johnson is not easily contained under a single heading, such as Liberalism, Conservatism, or Socialism. Rather, it is at one time partially all of these and yet really none of them in a pure form. There are dichotomies in the Johnson ideology. For example, he failed to support early civil rights legislation, yet later, as President, he became one of the greatest advocates of this cause. Much of his Great Society program was devoted to providing the poor with equal opportunities for health and education; yet, it is known from his early life that he placed great emphasis on competition. The goals of Mr. Johnson appear to be humanitarian; and, it is difficult to doubt his personal sincerity of purpose. However, one might question the origin and application of his humanitarianism. There are indications that Johnson viewed himself as a benevolent "father figure" who expected the love and admiration of his "children" for his generosity, and, that he was bitterly disappointed when he felt that the American people had withheld that admiration. Additionally, it is necessary to consider the political aspect of Johnson's Great Society announcements in terms of corresponding events which affected his administration. In the political analysis of his administration, it is of some importance that Johnson followed John Kennedy, a most liberal President, and the mood of the country was in

favor of liberal views during the 1960's.

The educational theory of Johnson seems to have been characterized by the concept that every person should be provided with the opportunity to obtain as much education as he or she could assimilate. His theory also involved a basic belief that education would eventually alleviate many of the problems facing the country. He was devoted to the idea of cooperation among educators and educational institutions; as well as cooperation amongst business, industry and state, local and federal government in subsidizing and benefiting from the educational enterprise. Another aspect of Johnson's educational belief was a stress on technology and research to improve instruction.

It does not appear that the President had any particular view concerning the content of subject matter. He stressed the need for languages, art, music, and science; but he was willing to provide these subjects at centers outside the school. It is somewhat unclear as to whether these types of subject matter were also to be an integral part of the school curriculum. There seems to be great emphasis placed on career oriented education on all levels (professional, white collar, service, etc.).

Mr. Johnson showed a special concern for resources, such as counseling, library service, vocational guidance, etc. Again, it is somewhat difficult to assess whether his emphasis on these matters was due to what he saw as a great void in these kinds of services; and therefore, he was attempting to include that which was missing; or, if, in fact, he felt that these were the basic essentials of a good educational program.

The President seemed to pay little or no attention to private education at the elementary and secondary level, except in so far as was necessary to get private school educators to accept his legislative plans for

education. It is possible that he did not feel that private education represented a legitimate cause of federal involvement. He also did not seem to exhibit a great concern for the educational needs of middle- or high-income families. Most of his legislation was aimed at the child caught in a poverty cycle. Another group that was somewhat excluded in his educational plan were the younger students of exceptional ability. It is often beyond the capacity of a teacher or of a school to provide them with the educational experiences necessary to develop their special gifts. Yet, their needs did not seem to receive any special attention in the Johnson legislation. Another area of concern--physical education--does not appear to have been of exceptional importance in the President's educational programs. There is little mention of funding for such things as athletic equipment or facilities. Nor is there an emphasis on the development of professional abilities for coaches or other related athletic personnel. In general, it appears that athletic programs similar to those in the Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc countries were not considered to be of great importance by Johnson.

The President did not appear to be an advocate of any particular educational methodology, such as the open or the self-contained classroom. Rather, his approach seems to have emphasized a need to experiment with and to research various techniques, and to utilize the most innovative methods available.

Lyndon Johnson had the unique opportunity to not only envision a society as he hoped it could be, but to attempt to make that vision a reality. He certainly did not attempt to "shy away" from that challenge. He proposed his Great Society program in a speech at Ann Arbor, Michigan, which represented the core of Johnson's ideological position. At that time

he not only proposed a great society, but challenged Americans to assist in the realizing of his vision:

The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice . . . (It) is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and enlarge his talents. It is a place where leisure is a welcome chance to build and reflect, not a feared cause of boredom and restlessness. It is a place where the city of man serves not only the needs of the body and demands of commerce, but the desire for beauty and the hunger for community. It is a place where man can renew contact with nature. . . . it is a place where men are more concerned with the quality of their goals, than the quantity of their goods. But most of all, the Great Society is not a safe harbor . . . a finished work. It is a challenge constantly renewed . . .¹

¹Johnson, President Johnson's Design for a "Great Society," pp. 14-17.

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APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

SIXTY EDUCATION LAWS ENACTED DURING
PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S ADMINISTRATION

<u>Public Law</u>		<u>Date of Signing</u>
1 88-204	Higher Education Facilities Act	12/16/63
88-210	Vocational Education Act of 1963	12/18/63
88-214	Manpower Development and Training Act of 1963	12/19/63
88-269	Library Services and Construction Act	3/11/64
88-352	Civil Rights Act of 1964	7/ 2/64
88-368	Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1964	8/20/64
88-452	Economic Opportunity Act of 1964	8/20/64
88-579	National Arts and Cultural Development Act of 1964	9/ 3/64
88-581	Nurses Training Act of 1964	9/ 4/64
88-654	Loans to Students of Optometry	10/13/64
88-665	NDEA and Federally Affected Areas Act	10/16/64
2 89-4	Appalachian Regional Development Act	3/ 9/65
89-10	Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965	4/11/65
89-15	Manpower Act of 1965	4/26/65
89-36	National Technical Institute for the Deaf Act	6/ 8/65
89-69	Juvenile Delinquency Control Act of 1965	7/ 8/65
89-77	Amends P.L. 815 with respect to construc- tion of school facilities for children in Puerto Rico, Wake Island, Guam, or the Virgin Islands for whom local educa- tional agencies are unable to provide education, and amends P.L. 874 relating to conditions of employment of teachers in dependents' schools	7/21/65

<u>Public Law</u>		<u>Date of Signing</u>
89-105	Training Teachers of the Handicapped	8/ 4/65
89-209	National Foundation of the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965	9/29/65
89-253	Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965	10/ 9/65
89-258	Captioned Films for the Deaf	10/19/65
89-287	National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965	10/22/65
89-290	Health Professions Educational Assistance Amendments of 1965	10/22/65
89-291	Medical Library Assistance Act of 1965	10/22/65
89-313	Assistance to schools affected by major disasters and Title I assist- ance for state-supported schools for the handicapped	11/ 1/65
3 89-329	Higher Education Act of 1965	11/ 8/65
89-358	Veterans' Readjustment Benefits Act of 1966 (Cold War G.I. Bill)	3/ 3/66
89-511	Library Services and Construction Amendments of 1966	7/19/66
89-642	Child Nutrition Act of 1966	10/11/66
89-688	National Sea Grant College and Program Act of 1966	10/15/66
89-694	Model Secondary School for the Deaf Act	10/15/66
89-698	International Education Act of 1966	10/29/66
89-750	Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1966	11/ 3/66
89-751	Allied Health Professions Personnel Training Act of 1966	11/ 3/66
4 89-752	Higher Education Amendments of 1966	11/ 3/66

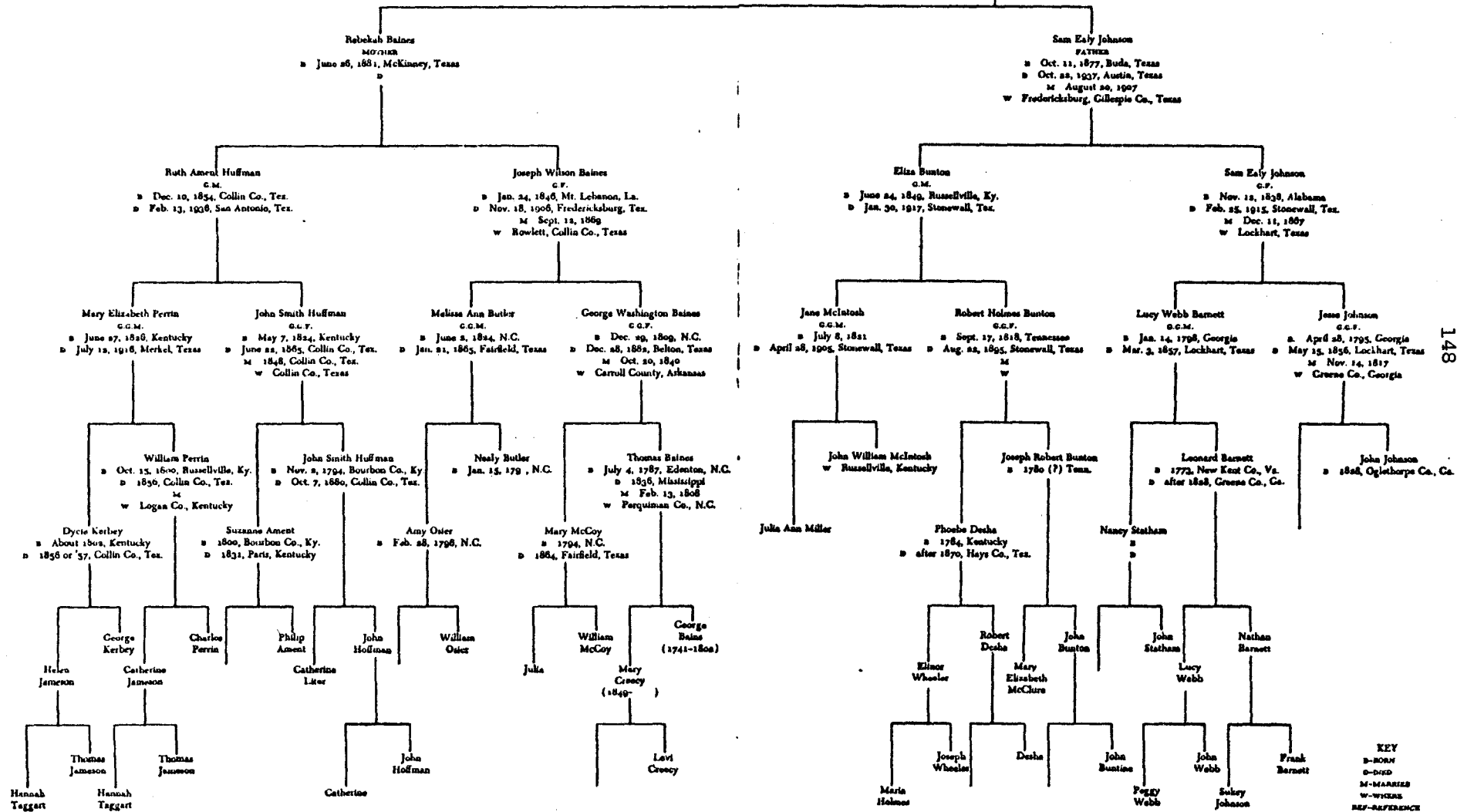
<u>Public Law</u>		<u>Date of Signing</u>
89-791	District of Columbia Public Education Act	11/ 7/66
89-792	Manpower Development and Training Amendments of 1966	11/ 7/66
89-794	Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1966	11/ 8/66
90-35	Education Professions Development Act	6/29/67
90-77	Veterans' Pension and Readjustment Assistance Act of 1967	8/31/67
90-82	Amending College Work-Study program with respect to institutional matching and permissible hours of work	9/ 6/67
90-103	Appalachian Regional Development Act Amendments of 1967	10/11/67
90-129	Public Broadcasting Act of 1967	11/ 7/67
90-154	Library Services and Construction Amendments of 1967	11/12/67
90-170	Mental Retardation Amendments of 1967	12/ 4/67
5 90-222	Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967	12/23/67
90-247	Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1967	1/ 2/68
90-348	National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities of 1968	6/18/68
90-351	Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 (Title II--grants for education of Law Enforcement personnel. Title III--grants for research, demon- stration, and special projects	
90-391	Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1968	6/25/68
90-407	An Act to amend the NSF Act of 1950	7/18/68

<u>Public Law</u>		<u>Date of Signing</u>
6 90-436	An act to extend the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (Public Law 480)	7/29/68
90-445	Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968	7/31/68
90-460	An act to extend for two years certain student financial assistance programs	8/ 3/68
90-477	An act to amend Title II of the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966 (included grants to Sea-Grants Colleges through NSF	8/11/68
90-490	Health Manpower Act of 1968	8/16/68
90-538	Handicapped Children's Early Education Assistance Act	9/30/68
90-575	Higher Education Amendments of 1968	10/16/68
90-576	Vocational Education Amendments of 1968	10/16/68
90-636	Manpower Development and Training Act Amendment	10/24/68

APPENDIX B

THIS IS THE LINEAGE OF
Lyndon Baines Johnson

Johnson City, Texas



LINEAGE OF LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON

APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Janet Patricia Fredericks has been read and approved by the following committee:

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The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

December 9, 1981
Date

Gerald L. Gutek
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